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Eulogy by Judge E. C. Hart

On the Occasion of the Memorial Services, Sacramento Aerie, No. 9, Fraternal Order of Eagles, at the Congregational Church, Sunday, May 13, 1906.

Worthy President, Brothers and Friends:

A distinguished American scholar and thinker who has recently contributed to the world's literature, in the form of a book, the results of his investigation of questions involving moral, social and religious problems, declares, among other statements, that science having concerned itself so many years about the origin of man should now devote itself to the infinitely more interesting topic of the destiny of man. He then proceeds, through the aid of scientific principles, to demonstrate what is even now maintained by some to be a purely tentative and speculative theory, that when man runs his course upon this sublunary sphere his end has not come; that there is an eternal home beyond this short life to which all, so deserving, will ultimately go. This, coming from a thinker of deep religious convictions, shows one fact at least—that science and religion are no longer considered as at cross-purposes or at variance; that they ought to be and are companionable factors in the determination of the future of man and may some day concur to give man a clearer and more satisfactory explanation than he has ever had of the purposes for which he has been placed here, his relations to the universe, his true duty to himself and to his fellow-man and his obligations to the Great Father of all. But whether or not we shall ever wit-

ness this much wished for fruition of the combined efforts of science and religion, there is one fact from which we have never been able to escape, and that is that every human comes into the world with an inherent belief—a belief that is as inseparably connected with his nature as his heart is with his body—that there is something for us beyond the short life allotted to us here. This belief is the rock upon which we must build our house, or there is little or no comfort or solace to be gathered from the exceedingly limited span guaranteed to us in this life. That rock is the fundamental prop of the Fraternal Order of Eagles. Upon it we rest our faith and our fate. By it we are sustained and consoled by an unfaltering trust that those of our brothers, whose taking off we mourn to-day, have been gathered to the bosom of a beneficent, all-wise and all-merciful God.

Nine of our brothers failed to respond to the roll-call to-day. They are: C. F. Infield, who died June 17th, 1905; B. F. Baker, September 11th, 1905; Ernest Schenk, October 5th, 1905; G. Wendt, October 10th, 1905; B. W. Cavanaugh, December 5th, 1905; J. F. Burke, January 19th, 1906; J. H. Davis, January 29th, 1906; W. J. Whalen, January 31st, 1906; John Neubauer, April 9th, 1906.

With the exception of Brothers Cavanaugh, Burke and Davis, I had little personal acquaintance with those I have named of our membership who, within the last year, have gone to answer the roll-call in the Aerie beyond the skies. Of those with whom I had not this close personal acquaintance I can truthfully say, however, that their known loyalty to the sacred principles of our Order brought them close to the hearts of all members of our local Aerie. They became Eagles because they conscientiously believed in the splendid principles of the Order, and to which in practice they adhered to the letter and the fullest scope of their spirit. And no one can live up to these principles without becoming a man in the highest sense of that term.

Brother Bartley W. Cavanaugh was perhaps known, either

personally or by reputation, by every person living within the confines of our city at the time of his untimely death. He was a native of Sacramento, and resided here all his life. I knew him intimately for nearly a quarter of a century. And I know that, were he with us to-day to listen to an eulogy upon his character, he would be the first to protest in emphatic terms against fulsome praise, exaggerated compliment, or the declaration that he possessed no faults. He knew, as we all know, that with the single exception of Him who, bare-footed and bleeding, was led through the streets of Jerusalem to a death to which he had been condemned after the most infamous trial that ever disgraced a judicial tribunal in the world's history, no individual in human form ever came into this world who possessed all the attributes of perfection. But Bartley Cavanaugh, take him for all in all, was every inch a man. The man never lived who was truer to his friends. He loved gratitude and sincerity. He despised the antithesis of these qualities. One of his most conspicuous and most lovable characteristics was his undying devotion to his wife, his children, his mother and his sisters. His love for them was largely his religion. While not of an emotional nature, he was full of the milk of human kindness and sympathy. His charities were ample but unostentatious. He would go to any reasonable length to help a friend in distress. He will be greatly missed in this community for many years to come. He was my friend. He pre-empted within the domain of my affections a spot to which he established an impregnable and never-ending title.

Brother Burke was also born and reared in this city. I had known him from his earliest boyhood. He was honest and faithful to every trust. His heart was always in its right place. As evidence of the high character of this lamented young brother, for when death called him he was yet in the very flower of young manhood, he became, through the force of untoward circumstances, the main support of an aged mother and an invalid father. To them he was devotion itself, sacrificing many of the

so-called pleasures of youth that they should in no manner suffer for the want of that full protection, in their helplessness, to which by the laws of filial love they were entitled at his hands. He recognized his duty when but a mere boy, faced it bravely and executed it manfully and dutifully. He was always in robust health until stricken last winter with pneumonia, from which in vain he struggled with characteristic courage to rally and recover, finally, however, yielding with true Christian complacency and resignation to the decree of Him who doeth all things well.

Brother Davis served one term as constable of Sacramento, and discharged its duties honestly, faithfully and efficiently. He was a good man and a respected citizen.

We reverently bid these departed brothers an affectionate farewell. We fervently hope to meet them again. They have only taken out their withdrawal cards to join an infinitely happier Aerie within the realms of Heaven, where fraternity reaches a pinnacle beyond the possible conception of man. They shall live forever in our memory, for we shall ever keep their narrow beds strewn with the choicest of God's flowers as the symbols of our affection and water the verdure o'er their graves with the tears of brotherly love.

Such occasions as this ought to be an object lesson to us all. We are thus reminded of how small we are in the presence of those awful forces, compared to which we are as impotent and powerless as the smallest insect. We should thus be taught to think more of each other, and to this end to occasionally get out of and away from self and wander through and over the broad domain of humanity. We should remember that the best of the human family live within the narrow walls of poorly ventilated houses, where the air is stifling, sickening and death-dealing, and that our happiness can only be conserved by often moving out into the wholesome atmosphere of charity, magnanimity, brotherly love and true humanity. I would not take away the cheery disposition and happy smile. I love the sunshine. We need it.

I do not like the gloom that comes from the dark clouds of life. It makes me unhappy to meet a pessimist or a misanthrope. This world is all darkness to them, and they bring darkness to us. I do not seek the association of that most uncompanionable individual who, as it is so aptly put in the beautiful story of Tom Brown at Oxford, has grown so disgruntled through suspicions of himself that, instead of looking at the bright side of all things, he seems to be forever viewing all creation through yellow spectacles and seeing in all his acquaintances faults and blemishes which were once to him invisible. But how soon we forget the lesson that is brought home to us as we stand bowed in sorrow over the bier of a departed brother. For the time we seem to have a keen realization of the end to which we are all hastening. For the time our hearts are so softened that we cannot but deeply feel our duty of contributing, when and wherever it lies in our power, our mite toward mitigating and lessening the sorrows and burdens weighing so heavily upon the hearts of many of our brothers who, it at least appears, are carrying an unequal load along the thorny highway of life. Too soon we forget this duty, my friends. Duty, I say, because it is such from any standpoint from which we may view the source of our obligations to our fellowman, for whether we accept the great truth of our destiny as revealed by the good Book, or upon that all-important subject our belief has been disturbed by the erosive influence of doubt, we are nevertheless under obligations to perform the brotherly offices of which I speak. But again I say that we are too apt to soon forget the solemn admonitions so obviously suggested by occasions such as this. Leaving our inanimate brother with saddened hearts and tear-stained eyes—tears that come as messengers of unaffected sympathy from sorrowing hearts—we again step out under the serene blue vault of heaven into the beautiful sunlight of God and feast our eyes with the wonderful and awe-inspiring beauties of Nature. We listen with rapturous ecstacy to the songbirds, as making their aerial excursions, they chant their sweetest

melodies to the happy springtime, garbed in all its gorgeous habiliments, filling our souls with heart-thrilling music as of the angels; we inhale and breathe in God's health-giving air, pregnant with the fragrance of the violet, the rose and the honey-suckle; reclining lazily on its green-carpeted banks, oblivious of the fleeting passage of time, we dreamily watch the winding stream and its undulating and musical ripples as it passes in sweet and harmonious murmurings to the boundless sea. Again we precipitate ourselves into the whirling, whizzing and tumultuous vortex of temporal affairs, carrying along their thousands of conflicts and collisions—marching on and on, sometimes listlessly and purposeless, with the vast surging throng, with minds, unchaperoned by our hearts, distorted by and bent upon things which are only of the earth. Have we paused to give even a glancing thought to him, now no more, who was, not in the long past, an inseparable part of ourselves—an almost indispensable factor in our interdependent existence here and without whom we felt, when he lived, we could scarcely survive? Have we given one thought to the inevitable destiny which awaits us, or glanced, as it were, for one instant toward that pathway through which our brother has just passed, and over whose mysterious and unknown windings we too must, sooner or later, make our weary way? Have we paused to offer up prayers of thanks and gratitude to Him, by whose inscrutable hand this beautiful world was created and who bequeathed it to us for our temporary habitation, for the manifold blessings He has so graciously bestowed upon us?

God of Our Fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

ADDRESS

BY

HORACE G. PLATT

AGAINST

The Acquisition by the City of the Geary Street Road

DELIVERED AT THE BANQUET OF THE

MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION

NOVEMBER 12, 1902

PRESS OF
PHILLIPS, SMYTH & VAN ORDEN
608 CLAY STREET, S. F.

8095

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—The question for consideration this evening is the acquisition by the city of the Geary-street Railroad and the issue of bonds to the extent of $700,000 in order to construct and equip the same, and thereafter run it under the control of the city.

This is entirely a business proposition, and therefore I shall treat it in a business way.

Although I am the President of the Geary-street road, and, as such President, am endeavoring to obtain a new franchise from the city, I hope that you will consider my argument solely upon its merits and apart from any personal interests I may have in the matter.

I am opposed to municipal ownership of public utilities for three reasons:

First—Government should leave to private enterprise everything but purely governmental duties. The only exceptions to this rule are matters of such magnitude and character that private enterprise cannot undertake them; as, for instance, the conservation of flood waters in arid regions, covered by the recent Act of Congress.

Second—Government cannot do any business as economically or as efficiently as it can be done by private enterprise.

Third—Municipal ownership of public utilities increases taxes without any corresponding benefit to the taxpayer.

First—Government, and especially municipal government, should confine itself to governmental duties, and not undertake industrial pursuits, which belong to the citizen.

The best government is the one that governs least, leaves the widest field for individual enterprise, gives the greatest encouragement to individual ambition and ability and affords the least opportunity for taxation of private property. Municipal ownership of public utilities does the very reverse; takes great industries from the control of the individual and places them in the hands of the Government, and thus curtails the business scope of individual skill, enterprise and capital.

The aim of Government should be to encourage the profitable investment of private capital, not to make it unprofitable by governmental competition.

No community can gain anything by curtailing the avenues for the investment at home of the money of its people. Every community gains by having in its midst large enterprises in whose stocks and bonds the accumulated capital of its citizens, especially of the old, the widows and the orphans, can find safe and profitable investment. The best and most permanent of such enterprises are what are known as public utilities.

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The duty of Government is, therefore, simply to regulate, not to own, public utilities. This power of regulation all Governments have, whether Federal, State or municipal.

By this control the cost to the citizen is confined to a reasonable charge, while by the desire of personal profit the management is encouraged to give to the citizen the best service circumstances permit, and at the same time the community is benefited by the profitable investment of private capital in such public utilities.

It is said that the municipality should make whatever money there is to be made from the use of its streets. This is not so. Government does not exist to make money. The making of money by the Government is the most corrupting of influences and leads most certainly to extravagance. The city's profit from the use of the streets, as we will show, lies in the compensation it is authorized to exact from the granting of any franchise.

If there is any money to be made in these enterprises, let the citizens make it, and let the Government content itself with such compensation and with securing to the public efficient service at a reasonable charge.

Second--Government cannot do business as economically or as efficiently as it can be done by private enterprise.

The administration of municipal affairs in the various cities throughout this country is not as economical as the management of private industries, nor is the class of service rendered so efficient.

Self-interest and the necessity of obtaining a return on an investment are the first essentials to the economical and efficient administration of large enterprises. These are wanting in municipal administration of public utilities.

An English writer upon this subject has very pertinently said:

> There are certain principles which may be laid down, and one of those principles is that that spirit of individual initiative, inventiveness, enterprise, dogged perseverance and devotion to the development of industry and commerce, which has done so much to secure the greatness of the British Empire, should not now be checked by the transfer of enterprises to the government, whose members or officials are devoid of that self-interest upon which business success and industrial development mainly depend. Once transfer to State or Municipality any substantial proportion of the means of remunerative employment, and the incentive to individual interests in industrial progress and commercial expansion will disappear.

Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, who has devoted much study to this subject, says:

> "Under public ownership, managers and employees are public servants and owe their employment to political influence or the enforcement of civil service regulations. They have no direct interest in the results of their management except *intangible* public appreciation, upon which they must rely for continuous employment and promotion. The terms of their employment *destroy* the economic factor of self-interest seeking commercial gains.

"Under private ownership managers and employees owe their employment to the direct personal interest of those owning the stock of the corporation. They have a direct interest in the results of their management, since they must rely for continuous employment and promotion upon the prosperity of the corporation. The terms of their employment *stimulate* the economic factor of self-interest seeking commercial gains.

"A public agent works for the profit of the public—all of the people—without hope of individual gain. A private agent works for private gain."

But there are other characteristics in governments that militate against their business efficiency. Says Herbert Spencer:

"Officialism is habitually slow. When non-governmental agencies are dilatory, the public has its remedy; it ceases to employ them and soon finds quicker ones. Under this discipline all private bodies are taught promptness. But for delays in State Departments there is no such easy cure.

"Officialism is extravagant. Public agencies are subject to no such influence as that which obliges private enterprise to be economical. Traders and mercantile bodies succeed by serving society cheaply. Such of them as cannot do this are continually supplanted by those who can. They cannot saddle the nation with the result of their extravagance, and so are prevented from being extravagant.

Give officials more money to spend and more patronage to bestow, and you increase their extravagance.

Officialism is habitually inefficient. The manager of a private enterprise must be successful. Failure, whether in judgment or from misfortune, necessitates his resignation. Hence private enterprise secures efficiency.

The manager of a governmental industry is independent of failure. His bad judgment works no harm except to the people. His continuance in office is independent of success. Hence public enterprise secures inefficiency.

In short, the official manager of a public utility will be dilatory, extravagant and inefficient because there is no immediate responsibility to a personal employer, and no direct supervision by an employer having a direct personal interest.

The Government way of administering public utilities may be judged by the way in which it does those things entrusted to it now. It has charge of the streets, sewers, police, Fire and School Departments. Is there a daily newspaper issued in which their administration is not justly criticised? Could not the streets and sewers be kept in better condition and for less money by private enterprise? Would not any of you contract to run the entire city government more efficiently than it has been done for the present and make a handsome profit out of the bargain?

It is a matter of general knowledge that the streets of the city became so filthy as to not only affect public convenience, but to endanger public health, and the merchants were compelled to take into their own charge the cleaning of the streets in the business portion of the city. It is also a

matter of common knowledge that the school buildings are allowed to lapse into an unsanitary and dangerous condition, and yet the taxpayers have always contributed liberally to the support of the public schools.

The city erects public buildings. Are they built as well and as economically as private buildings? Does their construction move as promptly, with as little delay? The people of this city have examples before them and can judge for themselves. The New City Hall was estimated to be completed in three years. It was nineteen years in building. The Hall of Justice was not completed until after innumerable delays. The Federal Postoffice has been years in building. Since it was commenced the Claus Spreckels structure has been begun, erected and for years earning an income.

Before we can have a successful administration of public utilities by the municipal authorities we must have a thorough reform of our system of municipal government. Until that is an accomplished fact, a just an intelligent control of these public utilities will be better for all concerned than public ownership of them. Before conferring further powers and responsibilities on our city officials, wait until they have given evidence of their ability to manage well what they have. Adding new duties to those imperfectly discharged cannot benefit the public.

The advocates of municipal ownership claim that the most fruitful source of municipal corruption has been the public service corporations, and that therefore the absorbing of their functions will bring about a reform of our city governments.

We submit that the accusation answers itself. An official who can be bribed by a public service corporation will not become pure by being put in charge of such a business under municipal control.

The most fruitful source of municipal corruption is patronage, and this would be magnified by municipal ownership of public utilities. The Geary St. Road has about one hundred employees. The other roads have several thousand more. Give all this patronage to our municipal officials and you entrench official corruption and incompetence behind a barrier that is impregnable. Couple this increase of patronage with the fact that the smallness of official salaries and the uncertainty of official tenure prevents the most competent men from seeking municipal office, and you make municipal reform impossible.

Pay municipal salaries that will justify the most capable men in accepting public office and secure them in a tenure of office justified by successful performance, and their regulating of public utilities will demonstrate the fact that the greatest

benefit to the public lies in municipal regulation rather than in municipal administration of public utilities.

Third—Municipal ownership and administration of public utilities increases taxes without a corresponding benefit to the taxpayer.

The Charter privides that public utilities, when their cost, together with the other necessary expenditures of the city, exceeds the current revenue, must be acquired by the issue of bonds; that these bonds must be redeemed by taxation, and that, in addition to the regular municipal taxes, there must be annually levied an additional tax sufficient to pay the annual interest on these bonds, and not less than one-fortieth of the principal thereof.

This is simply securing these bonds by placing a mortgage on the property of the taxpayers, not for governmental purpose, but for a purely industrial one; a mortgage that can be foreclosed without giving the owner of the property mortgaged any control of the fund thus raised.

But this is not the only new tax that would be imposed upon the taxpayer by municipal ownership of public utilities, especially of street railroads.

Street railroads, under private ownership, pay taxes to the city on their franchises and other property, also a license on each car that they operate, and they also, at their own expense, keep in repair a large portion of each street used by them. This latter has become simply a tax, as the cars operated by cable or electricity in no sense wear out any portion of the streets.

Under municipal ownership of street railroads these taxes and licenses would no longer be paid, and the city would have to keep all of the streets in repair. As at present the street railroads of the city pay upward of $500,000 a year in taxes and licenses and street repairs. San Francisco, by the municipal ownership of all the street railroads, would lose this amount annually. These, together with the water, gas and electric companies, pay in taxes above $742,654.37 annually. In other words, this amount would be thus transferred from the private owners of the street railroads to the taxpayers generally, as we all know that the taxes would be none the less.

Furthermore, if private individuals or corporations own the street railroads, the city will necessarily derive a profit from them as to all new franchises granted. If a new franchise is granted under the Charter, the city must receive at least 3 per cent of the gross receipts for the first five years, 4 per cent for the next ten years, and 5 per cent for the next ten years. If a franchise is

granted under the Broughton Act, the city must receive a cash price for the franchise, and thereafter 2 per cent of the gross receipts.

This question, therefore, thus presents itself as to this particular case: Will the city grant a new franchise on Geary street to a private individual or corporation and thus secure for itself a certain percentage of the gross receipts, the taxes and license fees and street repairs that this individual or corporation would have to pay, or will it assume the operation of said road, bond itself for from $700,000 to $1,000,000, increase the taxes of its citizens every year in order to pay the interest on these bonds and a portion of the principal and to make up for the taxes, license fees and repairs that would be lost to the city under municipal control? In other words, will the city operate its street railroads and give up a certain profit, give up the taxes the private owner would pay, run a risk of loss and go in debt, or will it remain out of debt and content itself with controlling and regulating instead of owning this public utility?

Why should any taxpayer hesitate in deciding such a question?

But we do not have to rely merely upon theory or argument to show the fallacy of municipal ownership of public utilities. It has been tried elsewhere, and those who desire to try it here are not left without the guidance of experience.

There is not time on this occasion to give an extended list of municipal failures in these matters, and I will therefore cite only a few prominent instances.

Kansas City long owned her water works. Repairs, extensions and needed betterments were neglected until it became necessary either to issue bonds or to raise the water rates, and these rates were denounced by the papers as already exorbitant. For seven years the income from the water works amounted to $2,545,368, and the interest and loss on sinking fund amounted to $2,471,413, leaving only a balance of $173,955 accumulated income with which to make the repairs and necessary additions that must cost millions ofdollars.

Philadelphia for many years owned her gas works. They were badly neglected and cost the city about $400,000 a year over and above receipts. In 1897 they were leased by the city to a private corporation for a period of thirty years. The lease required that $5,000,000 should be spent by the lessee in improvements within three years and $15,000,000 during the terms of the lease. The result of the change from municipal operation to private operation has been that the city has all of its streets and public buildings lighted free and is

in receipt of an income of nearly $300,000 a year, instead of having a loss of $400,000 a year.

The report of an expert accountant appointed by the Merchants' Association of New York to examine the books of the Croton Water Works shows that these works have been one of the most expensive luxuries of that most extravagant city. For years there was a discrepancy of 36.71 per cent upon all the water delivered between the amount collected by the city and the amount that was actually due the city.

Boston inaugurated a municipal printing plant. Recently a report from this printing plant was made by a committee consisting of an expert printer and an expert accountant. Their report shows that in five years' operation of the plant the direct loss, that is, the difference between outgo and income, has amounted to $40,128.83, and that this loss has been increasing annually. The expert found that on tabulation work the cost to the city was 25 per cent and on plain work 10 per cent higher than in private establishments, and in excess of the charge paid by the city when its printing was done by contract.

The reasons given by this committee for this loss and for this higher cost of work can be best understood by quoting from the report. The committee says:

> The present hours of labor at the plant are eight per day, with a Saturday half holiday, or forty-four hours per week, against fifty-four hours per week by the nine-hour day in outside printing establishments. No one would object to this shortening of hours—on the contrary, all will applaud it—provided only that the city's work be properly done in the forty-four hours remaining. In fact, it is reasonable to expect that more work should be done per hour per man on a seven and one-third hour day than on a nine-hour day, but this has not been the fact at the printing plant. The figures prove conclusively that, contrary to reasonable expectation, less work per hour per man has been accomplished at the printing plant. These results have many causes, some of which are designated in last year's report—but all of which simmer down finally to two fundamental causes. First, incompetent and sometimes useless employes who have been forced upon, or at least accepted by the superintendent; and secondly, that the necessary vim and snap has not been imparted to the supervision of the work. An unnecessary number of employes has been carried in all divisions of the printing department. There is a lamentable lack of interest manifested in the work. In many cases the disposition seemed to be to kill time, without reference to the needs of the establishment. Hands were idle for hours at a time. This idleness is attributable to the fact that the force is far in excess of the needs, and were it a private corporation much of the help would be temporarily laid off, or told to look elsewhere for employment.

In addition to the waste, loss and high charges in the printing department, the charge for ruling and binding was found to be 20 per cent higher than individuals pay, and there was extravagance in the purchase of all stock used. The accountant's conclusion is:

"Here is an experiment in municipal ownership, a municipal industry endowed with every advantage. Ample capital, generous appropriations, plant in excellent physical condition, regular work of the same general character throughout the year, everything favorable for a successful enterprise which should do the city's printing better than by contract, and which should be able to pay as good or better wages, while giving shorter hours to employees."

The failure is declared to be humiliating, and it is shown that the taxpayers will save money by abolishing the plant.

Massachusetts has a Gas and Electric Light Commission, whose members are appointed for life, or during the proper discharge of their duty. That commission by law compels a sworn accounting by municipalities and private companies, showing every detail of their business in furnishing light. From the report of this commission it appears that:

Eighteen cities in Massachusetts own and operate their lighting plants. Of these fifteen are electric plants only and three operate gas and electricity. The expenses of these eighteen cities in operating their plants for the year ending June 30, 1900, were $148,364.21 greater than their income, and that sum was charged to the cost of street lighting. The balance sheet of the lighting plants of these eighteen cities showed a deficit for the year of $157,641.25.

Recently the town of Worcester appointed a committee of its Board of Aldermen to inquire into the feasibility and propriety of a municipal electric light plant, and this committee rendered a report unfavorable to municipal ownership. The committee sent inquiries to all cities owning municipal electric light plants. As a result of these inquiries it found that the municipal cost of electric light in cities that reported was nearly double the price at which the light could be supplied by contract with private individuals.

Boston made a thorough investigation on the same subject and concluded by making a contract with a private corporation for ten years instead of erecting a municipal plant of its own.

The town of Brookline, after much careful inquiry conducted by experts of the highest standing, concluded to acquire its electric light by contract rather than by ownership.

The city of Springfield investigated the subject, and, after careful consideration, renewed its contract with a local company.

The Worcester Committee therefore reported, after careful investigation, that municipal ownership of their electric light plant would raise the cost per lamp from $109.50 to $168, and this without taking into calculation the loss of the taxes now paid by the local company into the city treasury.

The Federal Government has had the same experience. Secretary Root, during the last Congress, appeared before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives and de-

clared in favor of the abandonment of the transport service as conducted by the War Department, and recommended that it be turned over to private enterprise as a measure of economy.

He declared that the service which had cost the Government of the United States $9,000,000 could have been performed with profit by private enterprise for $6,000,000. In other words, this was an admission by the War Department that it cost the Government 50 per cent more than it would have cost a private company to run a steamship line between San Francisco and Manila.

Secretary Moody in a recent speech declared that he was opposed to the building of battle-ships at Government Navy Yards because he was tired of the extravagance shown in all work done by the Government.

Several years ago Senator Plumb stated upon the floor of the Senate that private capitalists could construct for $150,000 a building which would cost the Government $400,000.

In England the same failures have attended their experiments in municipal ownership. The London "Times" recently presented the following data:

Railway lines in the south of London operated by the City Council show gross returns of $328,400.00 and a net return on expenditure of 1½ per cent ($71,625), while the north side lines, leased to a private company yield gross returns of $374,840.00 and a net profit on expenditure of 4¾ per cent ($200,755.00), The south lines are considered the more profitable under the same conditions.

The private company paid a heavy rent to the municipality, and yet with this additional expense its total ratio of expenses to receipts was 97.51 per cent, while the city's ratio was 97.82 per cent.

A list has recently been compiled from official sources of sixty towns in which on a capital expenditure of $30,000,000.00 for municipal electric lighting, there was a loss of $460,000.00 in 1901, this figure being irrespective of an allowance of three per cent for depreciation, and which, in addition to the figure just given, would increase the total loss on a year's workings to $1,364,170.00. In addition to this there would have to be added to these admitted losses the amount which the local authority would have received in the way of rates, rights of way, etc., if the undertaking had been in the hands of private companies.

The town of Salford, up to the end of last year, spent $933,830.00 on its electric light plant on which last year it lost $33,945.00, besides abandoning a plant which cost $750,000.00.

Halifax owns its gas and water works and its street railroads. Its reports show an admitted loss of $1,570 on its street railroads, $7,500 on its water works, an alleged profit of $1,880 but an actual loss of $65,980 on its gas works.

The town of Bath, which bought an electric lighting plant in 1896 for $122,500.00, has operated it at a deficit for four years, the last being $6,190.00, against a profit of $7,500.00 made with the same plant in the last year of private ownership. The town has spent $390,000.00 on the works, which last year broke down.

Municipal operation of Bedford's electric light plant showed a loss last year of $15,000.00. Bristol in the same way lost $12,500.00. Morley lost $10,000.00. Glasgow lost $23,585.00. Edinburgh lost $13,450.00.

The English Government has made a mess of the telegraph business, which it owns and operates. Up to 1899 it has lost the enormous sum of $35,000,000.00 in the management of this business. The loss is continually increasing, and last year it

was $3,000,000.00. It is generally conceded that a private company, or two private companies as we have in the United States, could do the business far better and make a profit.

In Victoria, where the railways have been worked for a considerable time by the State, the loss has been $35,000,000.00.

In South Australia the loss has been $10,000,000.00. A commission appointed to investigate the shockingly bad management of undertakings on the part of the State, reports the service is disorganized and political influence is noticeable throughout. It recommends the complete separation of the railways from the State, and the placing them under a board of five trustees, with a general manager. If this is done, the report states that an annual saving of $1,825,000.00 is indicated.

English newspapers are to-day contrasting the American system of private ownership of street railways with the English system of municipal ownership, to the disadvantage of the latter, not only in the matter of profits, but of suburban expansion.

These are some of the admitted failures. There are cities that seem to prove a profitable management by the municipality of its public utilities, but these reports when criticised will invariably show a loss instead of a profit. The Worcester Committee, in their report, state that in the printed reports sent to them from the various cities the items of taxes lost and of the depreciation of machinery were invariably ignored.

Hon. Robert P. Porter, who has given great study to this subject, states in a recent article:

> The comparisons between public and private undertakings which are set afloat in the United States and appear in the newspapers advocating municipal ownership and operation of public utilities are valueless, because the real cost of municipal enterprise is never given.

Among the items that he states are always omitted are provision for depreciation, wear and tear, and the municipal taxes relinquished by reason of municipal ownership.

The city of Detroit, in its accounts of its municipal electric plant, shows a profit, and yet a careful analysis of these reports shows a loss.

In 1893 Detroit undertook the municipal ownership of electric lights. Mayor Pingree promised to complete the plant by July 1, 1894. It was not completed until July 1, 1897.

In 1893 the cost was estimated at $600,000, and bonds to that amount were issued. By 1898 the cost had amounted to $790,145.73.

Here was a delay of three years in erecting the plant and an increase of $190,000 over the estimated cost. When the city began its municipal ownership of electric lighting a private company offered to supply the city with arc lamps for ten years for $102.20 per lamp. The City Fathers rejected this offer and promised to furnish this light for one-half this price. The following figures show the result:

Year of Report.	Promised costs per lamp per year.	Reported costs per lamp per year.	True costs per lamp per year.	Total loss over contract price offered, $102.20
Average number of lamps, 1,483, 1896.	$51.10	$84.70	$140.96	$57,332.78
Average number of lamps, 1,564, 1897.	51.10	89.42	140.60	60,057.60
Average number of lamps, 1,744, 1896.	51.10	83.50	131.74	51,529.76
Total loss to tax-payers on three years' operation over contract price offered.....				$168,920.14

The difference between the reported cost per lamp and the true cost is due to the fact that the city officials omitted to include the taxes relinquished by reason of municipal ownership, a proper sum for depreciation, the money collected by taxes to complete the plant, and a proper per cent for a sinking fund. As a result, the people of Detroit were promised that their street lights should cost only $51.10 per lamp. They refused to pay a private company $102.20 per lamp. They are now paying, under municipal ownership, $131 per lamp, and they have a mortgage on their property of over $600,000.

These figures have been disputed by recent publication in one of our local papers. They were prepared, however, by Mr. Insull, President of the Chicago Edison Light Company and revised by an eminent student of this subject, and I have since been informed by him that the figures are absolutely correct.

This omission of such items as insurance, depreciation and taxes lost in municipal accounts of the operations of their public utilities, is not only true as to the United States, but also in Europe.

Every proponent of municipal ownership in this country cites the alleged success that Glasgow has had in the operation of its street railroads, and relies upon a certain report recently issued by this city showing a profit of over a million dollars for last year's operation of their street railroads. This report was recently analyzed by the Glasgow "Herald," and this paper in a published article states that this supposed profit is purely imaginary, and that instead of being over a million it amounts to about $35,000, and adds, further, that if the city had paid into the general fund the street rental required of a private corporation this account would have shown a loss instead of a gain of a million dollars. And yet the "Herald omits to include in its analysis the loss of the taxes which would have been paid to the city by a private corporation.

Glasgow is municipalized more than any other city in Great Britain. It has undertaken as a city to supply water, gas, electricity and telephones, as

well as tramways. The result is that its expenditures exceed its revenue. In 1901 the income was 2,809,405 pounds and the expenditures 2,846,442 pounds. Since 1892 the assessable rental of the city has increased less than 900,000 pounds, while the municipal debt has increased 6,000,000 pounds.

These are the inevitable results of municipal ownership, wherein politics rather than business, the desire to please the voters rather than the necessity of satisfying stockholders controls; wherein the administration can afford to be extravagant, as it spends the money of taxpayers who cannot call it to account, and not the money of stockholders who could and would have an immediate accounting.

One writer, after stating that in 1901 there was in the United States 20,000 miles of street railways, not one mile of which was under the fostering care of a Town Clerk, and in which the private capital invested was $1,500,000,000, said:

> Yet these served the public more efficiently than did English public companies, and contributed very substantial sums to the treasuries of the cities in which they were situated, the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company paying annually over $1,000,000.00 as taxes, the Union Traction Company of Philadelphia over $2,000,000.00, and the street railways of Massachusetts $1,350,000.00 out of gross receipts of $23,000,000.00.

He stated, further, that the American system of private ownership of street railroads offered greater encouragement to the opening up of suburban districts than did the English public companies, and he concluded with the significant remark:

> One can readily, therefore, understand why the United States municipalities should be quite content without attempting to run tramways on their own account, and without hampering the private enterprise which is prepared to take all the risk and all the trouble, and at the same time provide a more efficient service worked at a lower cost than could be offered by any municipality.

To such an extent has municipal ownership been carried in England and Great Britain that an Industrial Freedom League has been formed for the announced purpose of freeing private enterprise from undue interference by city governments. The constitution of this league sets forth :

> The rapid encroachment of local governing bodies upon the legitimate functions of mauufacturers, merchants and tradesmen, is injurious to the commercial interests of the nation and of the municipality, and the piling up of an enormous debt, now amounting to several millions, has the effect of increasing the burden of local taxation and diverting the stream of investment capital from its most useful channels. The disastrous tendency of the new municipalism is not a capitalist's question nor a trader's question merely. It is preeminently a poor man's question. The expenditure of a municipality inevitably increases in proportion as its trading increases. Toward this it has to levy rates which fall entirely upon the rental value of the property in the town.

Mr. Porter makes the following significant statement:

A careful study, covering several years, of the gradual movement against municipal trading in England, leads me to make the following observations: The men acting in opposition to the socialistic experiments are not merely those whose industries have been taken up by the municipal corporations and who feel themselves aggrieved in consequence. The opposition is rather from the conservative financial people who look with alarm upon the growth of local indebtedness and the increase of local taxation. Municipal trading in England has undoubtedly proved a great check to private enterprise.

In the light of this experience the people of this municipality are asked to attempt the construction and operation of a street railroad.

San Francisco, in one respect, is financially unique. No other city of the same size in the world is free from debt. And yet, knowing that every bond a city issues is a mortgage on the property of its inhabitants, the people are asked to bond the city, mortgage their property with the lien of a tax to pay upward of a million dollars in bonds and thousands upon thousands in interest in order to attempt the experiment of operating a street railroad. Those who advise the step hold out no hope of profit, but simply state that as the road is a small road the loss that the city may incur will not be tremendous.

Would not an individual be considered incompetent who mortgaged his property to invest in an enterprise that was not compulsory, upon the assurance of a promoter that, whereas there was no probability of any profit, there was at least the hope that the loss would not be tremendous?

I recently read in an evening paper that advocates municipal ownership the following statements in regard to the acquisition by the city of this road. It stated:

The Geary Street Railway, under municipal management, may not pay dividends on the money invested, but if a success, it will pave the way for public ownership of all the street car lines in San Francisco, and that is the goal toward which our people are now drifting *** An opportunity to try the scheme without involving the town in a tremendous loss will not occur again until practically all the street car franchises now in force expire. * * * Municipal ownership is still in an experimental stage, and it is true that nobody can tell in advance whether a municipal railway on Geary Street would prove a success or not. * * * Of course, it may be conceded at the very start that if the proposed Geary Street municipal railway is to be turned over to the politicians and left to them entirely, it is bound to be a failure. Not only will the politicians manage it badly, but they will run the city hopelessly into debt with expenses. * * *

If the Geary Street road became a part of the machine of the particular political party in power, and is used by the politicians as a means of providing places for their retainers, it will necessarily prove a failure. Men employed by the politicians feel no responsibility, and are very loth to discharge their duties. They reason that they cannot be dismissed because of their 'pull', and so they are insubordinate and neglectful.

If this be true, how suicidal it will be for the city to attempt it, for are not all municipal affairs in American cities left entirely to the politicians?

Within the experience or reading of every man

present no instance can be cited of any large city in the United States that is not run by politicians; no instance can be cited where any large municipal utility has not been managed by them at a loss to the community. Why, then, should San Francisco rush into this experiment? If it becomes necessary for the city to issue bonds, let it issue them to build modern brick schoolhouses for its children; let it issue them to construct an adequate system of sewers to insure the health of the community; let it issue them, if necessary, to make our Police and Fire Departments equal to the onerous duties required of them, but do not let it issue them at the request of politicians, who pay no taxes, merely to attempt an experiment in municipal ownership with the experience of so many failures as a warning against such a step.

There is no demand for better service or for cheaper rates. The service in this city is better than that furnished in Glasgow or anywhere else. In fact, any one who has traveled over the street railroads in Glasgow knows perfectly well that the whole equipment and accommodations are antiquated and behind the age, while the service furnished there would not be tolerated in any city in the United States.

The rates here are as cheap, if not cheaper, than they are in Glasgow, the difference in wages in the two places being considered. Wages there are less than one-half those paid in this country. Conductors on street cars are paid 93 cents per day the first year and $1.04 the third year, while conductors on street cars in San Francisco are paid 25 cents an hour for a day of ten hours, and more for overtime.

Who is demanding this change from private to public ownership? Not the taxpayers. They know that in every city where public ownership has been tried it has been financially unsuccessful, and that in Glasgow where it has been so extensively tried the taxes are more burdensome than in this country, and the local indebtedness has increased as much as the tax rate. Not the employes of the street railroads. They prefer employment that depends on merit rather than on political influence. Not the property owners along the line of this particular road. Those owning over three-fourths of this frontage have signed a petition asking for a renewal of the franchise to the present owners.

The only persons who are advocating this experiment are theorists without experience, and politicians with no other asset but the official salaries they have or hope to enjoy. I do not believe that the merchants of San Francisco will be influenced by such people in this important matter.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN BERKELEY APRIL THIRTIETH, 1889, AT A MEETING IN COMMEMORATION OF THE INAUGURATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

By

BERNARD MOSES

Professor in the University of California.

BERKELEY

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PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

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In accordance with a proclamation by the President of the United States, the people of Berkeley assembled at nine o'clock in the morning of the thirtieth day of April, in the First Congregational Church. The President's proclamation was read by the Rev. Thos. R. Bacon, pastor of the Congregational Church. Prayer was offered by the Rev. A. H. Needham, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Rev. G. A. Easton, rector of St. Mark's (Episcopal) Church. Selections from the Scripture were read by the Rev. V. A. Lewis, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. An address was delivered by Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The musical selections were as follows: "Te Deum Laudamus" (Evans); "Jubilate in Domino" (Schubert-Buck); "Before Jehovah's awful throne" (Duke Street); "My Country 'tis of thee" (America); "Praise God from whom all blessings flow" (Old Hundred). The services were closed with a benediction.

BERKELEY, CAL., May 6, 1889.

TO PROFESSOR BERNARD MOSES,

Dear Sir: We desire to thank you for the public service which you rendered by your address delivered in the First Congregational Church on the thirtieth of April, the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States. We ask that you will kindly furnish us with a copy of the address, that it may be printed in a permanent form, with a view to preservation, and to the wide circulation which it deserves.

Yours very truly,

HORACE DAVIS,
ALBERT S. COOK,
A. H. NEEDHAM,
ALBERT A. HOWARD,
G. W. ARMES,
WM. D. ARMES,
OSCAR G. DORNIN,
W. WILKINSON,
C. T. H. PALMER,
G. A. EASTON,
G. H. HOWISON,
JOHN GARBER,
WM. CAREY JONES,
THOS. R. BACON.

ADDRESS

We are met to acknowledge in the presence of one another our dependence on God, and our devotion to our country; to swear allegiance once more to the truths that guided the fathers of the republic; and to rejoice that history, in the record of our first national leader, has preserved an example of exalted and determined patriotism. We rejoice in this, because the character of a nation's hero is an important force in determining the national life. Not only men's deeds but also men's characters live after them, a force shaping thought and guiding conduct, a legacy to their posterity for good or for evil. The evils which Napoleon inflicted on France are found not chiefly in the fact that he sacrificed armies in the pursuit of a vain and selfish ambition, but rather in that, as a national hero, his character and ideals have descended as a damning inheritance to later generations of Frenchmen. Because of the hero's power to make his qualities imitated,

to make them survive as a determinative element in the life of the nation, Americans have reason to be thankful to-day and always, that, in their struggle to found a free and independent state, they were led by one who has left on his nation and on the world the impression of a lofty character.

The great heroes of the world have become heroes through participation in the most brutal of human occupations; and that the influence of their fame has not always been brutalizing has been due to the manifestation of personal qualities superior to martial skill, or to the spread of the belief that the cause was approved of Heaven, and the leader the instrument of Providence. Believing that the divine favor rests on that which we love with a self-sacrificing devotion, we have called the cause of liberty the cause of God; and thus in our eyes is the hero of liberty exalted. Those who stand forth to this generation as the heroes of American liberty, appear also the heroes of an abounding faith. What they fought for was not conquest, but an opportunity to make a great experiment in liberty; and if they saw something desirable in liberty exercised by a great nation, something worth uncounted sacrifices, faith must have illumined their prophetic vision; for one hundred years ago there was not a page of history to

which our fathers could point in justification of government by the people, except within the narrow limits of a town or a canton. Yet, moved by the faith that was in them, they dared everything for the sake of the great experiment which to-day counts an hundred years of trial. It is a sad commentary on the fall of the spirit of a great nation, debased by trade and devotion to caste, that the English, who for centuries led the political development of the world, and from whom we drew the foundations of our institutions, were the first to proclaim that the experiment had failed.

That the establishment of this republic was an experiment may not be well denied; and more than this, the establishment of every government is an experiment. In fact, the whole governmental history of the world is only one long series of more or less successful attempts to find some means for wisely organizing and controlling men in communities and nations. It is true, the individual men who lay the plans and set in operation the forces of the experiment seldom live to see the outcome; but the nation or the race stands by and waits calmly for the result. And all this must be, because no two governmental problems, either in the same age or in different ages, involve the same factors, and therefore the history of the past furnishes only hints, but no solutions, for the future. In making

the experiment, the government must be framed on the basis of the circumstances and conditions which we know from an observation of the present; but it goes into force to apply to circumstances and conditions which we cannot know, because they are in the undeveloped future.

After only one hundred years it may be too early to pronounce on the success or failure of the experiment. When the Roman Empire had lasted an hundred years, it was still in its infancy. The close of the second century saw it in increased renown and undiminished vigor. As it passed the end of the third century, it was guided by one whose acts reveal the true prophetic insight of a statesman. And not until after four hundred years was its existence seriously threatened by external shock. To have said during the first three hundred years of its existence that the Roman Empire was a failure, as some have said of the American republic in its first hundred years, or to have said that it was established to last forever, as our patriotism prompts us to say of our government, would clearly have been a false judgment. The Roman Empire may not have had all the qualities of our ideal of a wise and efficient government, but at the same time, in the second or third century, it had by no means failed. Still it was not immortal, and finally passed away with the development of Christian society.

In view of the Empire's long unrivaled dominion and final extinction, in view of the perishableness of all human institutions, which is emphasized on every page of history, it is not to be supposed that as a nation we have reached a point in the development of social and political forms beyond which we shall not advance to suppose this is to presume that the active practical intelligence which this nation has displayed for an hundred years will suddenly become paralyzed, and social stagnation settle over the land. As long as the nation moves with the current of progress, our institutions will continue to change to meet the demands of the developing spirit. Already with some, the primitive form has been lost in the course of the transformation. Yet this fate which stands before our political institutions need awaken no alarm. My patriotism finds its supreme gratification not in contemplating the present national organism as continuing unchanged for yet a thousand years, but rather in dwelling in thought on this nation, organized under whatever form may be conducive to its high purpose, leading the other nations of the world in all that exalts and glorifies life.

If, then, the establishment of our government is only one of a long line of experiments which the race has made, why all these celebrations in commemoration of its beginnings? They are

not grounded in the wish that the form may remain unchanged, for the necessary condition of such a result is a state of society entirely repugnant to our strongest social instinct—the instinct of progress. They are not grounded in the expectation of perpetual survival, for we know the incompatibility of social progress and institutional permanency. We commemorate the beginnings of our government, because we hold that its establishment represents a step forward, because it has emphatically announced certain principles which we believe will abide, however the forms may change. As long as the nation moves forward in the line of true progress, we may look with gratification to the necessary changes in the form of the state. There is reason for anxiety only in the indications of a return to rejected principles and antiquated conditions.

And to discover such indications in American society requires no specially penetrating gaze. Conceiving of feudalism as involving a separation of the supreme government from the great body of the people by an intervening class which prevented all direct influence of either the people on the government or the government on the people, our fathers congratulated themselves an hundred years ago that this order of things had passed away, and that they had created a government by the people, which must act for the

good of the people, because it was acted on by them and was responsible to them. They fancied they had permanently set aside the class which had held feudal privileges and power, and by which the nation and its supreme government had been separated, and both government and people completely controlled.

But the last fifty years have shown how complete was their error. In the place of mediæval feudalism overthrown, there has arisen a new feudalism hardly less powerful in its control of the people and the government, and not less far-reaching in its social influence. Through the law of primogeniture the mediæval state gave perpetuity to the power of a limited class, which gradually invaded the sphere of government and curtailed the liberties of the people. Through the recent accumulation of enormous fortunes, and their establishment under the law of corporations, a modern feudal power has come into existence, which controls the action of the government and holds a large part of the people in a position of feudal dependence. Modern feudalism, like mediæval feudalism, bases its power on the possession, by a limited class, of extraordinary aggregations of property. The main differences between them refer to the kind of wealth held and the characters of the holders. The wealth of the mediæval feudal lords was chiefly

land, because land was the sole important item of property in that agricultural age. The wealth of the modern feudal lords embraces more or less of all the multiplied forms of property, and covers all the more important factors of production, which underlie our complex civilization. The mediæval feudal lord was an individual person holding towards his vassals a personal relation, in which the inferior relied somewhat on the good-will of the superior, and the superior in turn acknowledged his obligation to render to the inferior the kind offices of the paternal relation. The modern feudal lord, on the other hand, is often a corporate person, between whom and the inferior the ancient confidential human relation is no longer possible.

Mediæval feudalism has been tried and found incompatible with progress towards general national enlightenment, and in so far as America is drifting towards a modification of this antiquated social form, to this extent is she departing from the high road to her proper destiny. Yet adequate means for checking this drift are not clearly in view. Wherever European feudalism has been successfully set aside, it has been done by the central authority taking to itself the powers and functions of the feudal lords, thus establishing immediate relations between the people and their government; and it is significant that the

historical hint here furnished coincides with the method advocated by those who are seeking a solution for the corresponding problem in the United States.

Other phases of retrogression are seen in our wide departure from simple living, and in the prodigious attempts that are making throughout the Union to draw strong lines of class separation. Fifty years ago the general equality of condition among the people appeared to DeTocqueville as the fundamental fact and central point of American life. But to-day we are conspicuous among the nations for our lack of simplicity of living, and for our wide variations of condition. This lack of simplicity arises from the desire for social distinction, taken with the fact that as a nation we specially emphasize wealth as the measure of the distinction to be accorded. The ambitious German or Englishman dares to live simply, because his society lays stress on other criteria of distinction than the display of wealth. It is not so with the denizen of New York or San Francisco. In England and Sweden, intellectual cultivation and achievement balance nobility in giving social distinction, but in the great society of America there is nothing to balance the possession of wealth. There is, therefore, a powerful stimulus to action in only one direction. The highest, the non-commercial, pursuits, consequently appear

unattractive, and comparative neglect attends those phases of life on which alone rests a nation's glory.

I do not underestimate the beneficent influence of wealth even on the higher phases of national progress. I recall the glorious period of art and learning among the Dutch, which followed their commercial supremacy in Europe. I recall the unrivaled brilliancy of Grecian civilization in the age of Pericles, which followed a period of remarkable commercial and industrial activity. But in both of these nations personal living retained much of its primitive simplicity. In the qualities of American life already indicated, however, there is no evidence that the civilization of either Holland or Greece is our model; rather that we are returning to the social condition of the Roman Empire, in which vast accumulations of wealth were used to promote rivalries in the magnificence of personal luxury.

The political significance of these changes in the structure of American society becomes apparent only when we have in mind the fact that certain forms of government grow naturally, as a plant out of its proper soil, from certain appropriate forms of society. A democratic society in which not too great inequality of condition exists, is a necessary basis of republican government; while, on the other hand, monarchy presumes inequal-

ity and broad lines of class separation. Monarchical rule established over a democratic society, if long continued, will inevitably lead to a loss of the society's democratic character, and conversely the loss of democratic character by a society leads to a change in the nature and spirit, if not to a change in the name, of its government. Mexico since the achievement of her independence illustrates this principle. After three hundred years of monarchical rule she set up a government nominally republican, without preparing the ground for it by a change in the character of her society. Consequently, although the government has been republican in name, its spirit has continued to be that of a monarchy. Under the operation of the same principle, the changes which we observe in American society will necessarily lead to changes in the nature of our government, however vigorously we may hold to the title of democracy.

In political as well as in religious affairs there is need of revival. The history of every successful system of religion shows either a continuous effort or occasional extraordinary efforts to maintain in influence, or restore to effective power, the principles of the founders. Frequent recurrence to the simple doctrines and zealous lives of the early Mohammedans has kept Mohammedanism a force in the world. The strong tradi-

tions of the Hebrews, binding the later generations to the principles and lives of the early heroes, have preserved that people true to itself, and given it a consistent development through centuries of trial. Christianity might have drifted into lifeless formalism, but that ever and anon the Christian world has been aroused to lift its eyes from the material interests of the day, and contemplate the sublime spiritualism of the early Christian teachers. What has been found needful to keep a religious community in healthful life, is equally needful for the broader life of a political community. If the nation would be true to itself throughout its changes of governmental forms, growth must continue on the basis of its essential and fundamental ideas. Like a religious system, it must seek to keep its primitive principles conspicuous, and if at any time they are lost to sight, the nation must be awakened by the preaching of a revival. The world grown indifferent to primitive Christianity was awakened by the preaching of Saint Bernard, which was echoed from hill-top to valley and from valley to hill-top throughout Southern Europe. Again, absorbed in the delights of ancient learning and the external glories of artistic creations, there was needed the sublime faith and heroic devotion of Luther and Loyola to recall primitive Christian teachings to the hearts and minds of a worldly

generation. Politically we have fallen on barren times like these. Our generation is either indifferent to the political doctrines which underlie our social organism, or absorbed in the wonders of our own physical creations. We have need of a political revival, a revival of democratic simplicity, and an awakening of the patriotic conscience.

But it is not in this direction that the majority of our contemporaries are seeking social salvation. They are relying rather on changes of form than on a revival of spirit, apparently forgetting that no form of government destined to be worked by human agency, is possible, in which the possession of power does not carry with it the opportunity of corruption. Whether the form under which a society exists is that of anarchism or socialism, republicanism or monarchical absolutism, if the persons clothed with power are mindful of their individual material advantages first, and of their obligations to the state and to society last, disaster will surely follow. It is true, we condemn as impracticable the various schemes of communism, because their successful operation presupposes a strong development of the altruistic sentiment. Yet in the face of the grounds of our condemnation, we are obliged to affirm as an historical fact that no form of organized social existence has been long successfully car-

ried on, which from time to time has not demanded from the citizens sacrifices as great as it is in the power of human beings to make—even the sacrifice of life. And when the individual members of society have lost their unselfishness, have lost their willingness to place the interests of the community at least as high as their own interests, have lost their devotion to everything beyond the physical means of gratification, no governmental form that was ever invented can redeem the nation. Redemption comes not by the form, but by the spirit.

Not only does this American generation need to be recalled to the simplicity of the fathers, but also to their more complete conception of life. The youth of the present are moved to criticise every plan of education or pursuit in life with reference to its power to contribute material advantages, without regard to the nature of the character that will result. Moreover, one of the affectations of American culture is a certain assumed superiority to patriotic sentiments; and instead of viewing the State as a beneficent organization whose effective existence is secured only by the devotion of citizens, it is regarded as something to be plundered for immediate, individual profit. Wherever we direct our view, we discern the imperative need of a reviving voice that shall awaken the nation to look once more

on its ancient and lofty ideals, and to be moved once more by the inspiration of patriotism.

Occasions like this, when the attention of the whole nation is directed to its early circumstances and to the life of its great leader, cannot but contribute to such a revival. It is not significant that the conscienceless scribe may pretend to explain away all that has hitherto been held most worthy in the character of our hero. His labors are vain; for what Washington actually was, is only the basis of the hero he has become. The national hero does not grow to his full stature in the threescore and ten years of a human life; he is made by the nation, usually on the basis of some superior character of actual existence; but the historical reality may be only a small part of the final creation. He is, therefore, in large measure, an emanation from the spirit of the nation, and in spite of the revelations of historical truth or the slander of carping lies, he will last as long as the nation continues to have regard for the qualities which it has here embodied. Historians have shown that no such man as William Tell ever played the rôle attributed to him, but as long as the Swiss people love the liberty for which they fought, they will continue to cherish the name as a sacred memory, and hold with undiminished vigor to their ancient ideals. To them, as to every true people, the hero is

something more than a man admired by those who came after him; he is a voice from one age to a later age, appealing for the continued recognition of the principles which are fundamental in the life of the nation.

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"How mighty they who steadfast stand,
For Freedom's flag, and Freedom's land."

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM.

AN ADDRESS

BY

Comrade C. A. Woodruff, Capt. U. S. A.,

DELIVERED APRIL 6TH, 1891, AT IRVING HALL,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., BEFORE

Geo. H. Thomas Post No. 2, Dept. of California, G. A R.

☆ ☆ ☆

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Comrade C. A. Woodruff, Capt. U. S. A.

ON THE OCCASION OF ITS PUBLIC COMMEMORATIVE MEETING, CELEBRATING THE QUARTER-CENTENNIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

☆ ☆ ☆

18478

By unanimous resolution of GEO. H. THOMAS POST NO. 2, DEP'T OF CALIFORNIA, G. A. R., *ten thousand copies of* CAPTAIN WOODRUFF'S *address were ordered printed for general distribution, "as an incentive to patriotism, and as inculcating a spirit of reverence for our country's flag, and respect for our country's laws."*

American Patriotism.

My text is "American Patriotism." It is recorded with the blood of its martyrs upon every one of our battle-fields, from Lexington to Appomattox, and should be so deeply engraven upon the mind and heart of every citizen of these United States, that the gentle zephyrs of State supremacy, the cold blasts from Canadian snows, the lively breezes from the Emerald Isle, or the rising gale from sunny Italy, could not efface or affect it.

Twenty-six years have come and gone since our country bade a glad good-bye to sanguinary war and heartily welcomed honorable peace. And if I should ask the muse of history, who are these men that meet to-night all over our land to celebrate the quarto-centennial of their order? Recalling their glorious deeds, the services they and their dead comrades rendered to the cause of humanity, civilization and liberty, looking upon their empty sleeves, their thinned ranks and sacred, blood-stained colors, she would answer clear as the bugle blast that once called them to duty: "A remnant of the Grand Armies that won that peace, and redeemed and saved the American Republic."

Thirty years ago, in the peaceful security of home, filling their places in the family circle, surrounded by all that makes life worth the living, we hardly noticed the gathering storm-clouds of sectional hate that forebode civil strife, until with a crash that startled our country from its dream of a peaceful solution of our troubles, the storm of war with all its attendant evils was upon us. Up from the South it swept, gathering all the dissatisfied elements in its course.

Above the storm was heard the call of the National Government: "Help, to the rescue."

Feeble, though many of these veterans now are, then in the full strength of young manhood, they threw themselves, an impregnable barrier of patriotism, between their country and those

who would destroy it. Wives, children, parents, home—all the ties, save honor and patriotism, that bind men, were forgotten; their country needed and asked for their services, and with tear-dimmed eyes and aching hearts they grasped the musket and faced the foe. In the grand struggle for the stability of constitutional government, the blood of the adopted citizen and of the native born, the blood of the Democrat and the Republican, of the rich and the poor, was freely shed that the nation might be saved.

For four years—years filled with victory and defeat, hope and discouragement—they battled on. Our statesmen almost despaired, and many talked of compromise, but the army never faltered; incompetent officers were weeded out, the pomp and circumstance of war was laid aside, and led by skilled commanders, at Nashville, Petersburg, and Five Forks, they charged with the same vim that characterized the early part of the war, and finally, when they had wrested victory, complete victory, from their valiant foes, their mighty armies returned to the farm, the workshop and the office, dropped the musket and quietly and completely fused into the common mass of American citizens.

These, my friends, were the volunteers of '61 and '65. These veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic are a remnant of that grand army of volunteers. It has been said, sometimes in bitterness and malice, that this is a political organization. This is an unjust accusation. It was not organized for any one man or party; in its ranks are men of all parties. In the Presidential campaign of '80, both of the candidates for that high office were members of the order. There are men who carry the banner of the Lord and recruit for Satan; men who mix religion with groceries, twisting the texts to suit the several customers; men with no principles, and—

> "Men, who for power and place, they hold their ready dishes;
> Just seven principles have they, five loaves and two small fishes."

While human nature is as it is, it would be strange indeed if we did not have unworthy members, if men and parties did not try to use the G. A. R.; but neither have succeeded. It is now, and should ever be kept free from party entanglements.

The principles for which these veterans fought—liberty, equality and national supremacy—are facts, as fixed as the foundation of our government, of which they are the corner stones. Having established these principles, the veterans organized the Grand Army to perpetuate the memory of the nation's dead, and the vital principles for which they died; to renew the ties that bound them to those comrades with whom: "We've drunk from the same canteen;" to watch over and care for the living but maimed; to protect the widows and orphans of their dead comrades, and to inculcate patriotism towards this government—"Fraternity, Charity, Loyalty." These being the objects of the order, I am requested to address you upon that one which most nearly concerns the rising generation, and to-night, mine the high privilege to point out some of the springs in the clear waters of which, I trust, that all who drink shall find no drop that does not contain healthy American ideas.

Ignorance, the strong ally of tyranny, is everywhere the foe of patriotism, even more dangerous in free States than in monarchies, for it makes the masses the ready instruments of demagogues, gives influence to the corrupt and unworthy, because they are willing to pander to the vanity, the passions, and the prejudice of the populace; hence, under its blighting influence, the experiment of popular government fails. The best education, so far as the welfare of the country is concerned, is that which teaches the people their rights as men, their duties as citizens, which, while teaching religious and political tolerance, impresses upon the popular mind the difference between true liberty and unbridled license.

How to accomplish this is one of the vital questions of the day. An honest, fearless, independent press can do much, but unfortunately our press does not always fill these requirements. Disinterested personal effort is always honest and could do much, but it is apt to be lukewarm. Woman's home influence is a mighty and far reaching power for good or evil. In war her influence is even stronger than in peace. Her favoring smiles in every age have been given to those who won them by their valor.

They do not wield the bayonet, but their moral power is behind it, and no war which they oppose can be successful. In all our battles "there were home voices that rammed our cannon down, edged our swords, and sent our stormers shouting on their desperate way."

If this home influence was always what it should be, a prosperous future for America would be assured. These homes contain about sixteen millions of children of school age, representing every race and condition; they are advancing to manhood and womanhood at the rate of over a million a year, yet as a nation we are doing nothing, and the States but little more, to fit them for the important duties and grave responsibilities of American citizenship. Unfortunately the home influence of many of these children has no tendency to stimulate a love of this country. For such as these the school-room is the only source of patriotism. The teachers of our schools must prepare this mighty army, if it is to be prepared, to properly discharge these duties and responsibilities. Hence it behooves every good citizen to interest himself in the personnel of our educators.

I think every citizen will admit that the State has, under the law of self-preservation, the right of insisting on patriotism being taught in all schools, public and private, sectarian and secular. We should teach it, for the existence of our government depends upon the very essence of patriotism. We should teach it in order that, when the time comes, as it does come in the life of every nation, that the silver words of oratory are powerless, that philosophy is in doubt, that poetry only breathes to twine for its brow her fairest laurels, there shall exist within the minds of all that love of country which saves a State when, with right on its side, the debate is closed, the god of war invoked, and the arbitration transferred from the national forum to the field of battle.

War is often an incident of patriotism, and there are those who discourage its teachings, as they discourage everything that has the semblance of preparation for war. They fondly dream that the time will soon come, is almost here, when there will be

no more war. They soar so high into the realms of sentiment, and become so imbued with an abstract feeling of love for their fellow men, that they ignore the plain facts of the case. They rely upon the spread of Christianity to create "on earth peace, good will toward men," forgetting that our Savior said: "I come not to send peace, but a sword." They close their eyes to the fact that so long as ambition, avarice and revenge are attributes of human nature, so long will there be war. We may cry peace, peace, but until mankind is regenerated, the law of self-preservation will cause us to meet force with force; and as there are no immediate indications that the day of man's regeneration is at hand, it behooves us to instil into the minds of the young that spirit of patriotism which makes good, honest citizens in peace, and loyal, heroic soldiers in war.

While freely admitting that patriotism is as necessary in peace as war, I claim that the latter condition offers a more heroic, because a more trying field for its display. It is rather fashionable to look to Europe for our models of patriotism, but this is an affectation, as un-American as it is unpatriotic. Certainly, the true lover of the virtue of patriotism should delight to contemplate its purest models, but that love of country may well be doubted which cannot find as pure, as heroic models in our own land, as any that classic history can offer us. While a study of the exhibition of the noblest traits of manhood in all lands will help to create within us exalted sentiments, our patriotism will be stronger if fed from American history. And that our country's record can furnish as grand models of all that is sublimely and unselfishly patriotic as the world has ever produced, I will give a few illustrations to show that we need not search foreign histories, either modern, or those so ancient that the kernel of truth is covered with the husk of tradition and fable, for our models of patriotic heroes. Is there an ancient poem as stirring as "Sheridan's Ride?" or a day that teaches the sublime lessons of love and patriotism inculcated by Memorial Day? The story of Leonidas, with his Spartan and Thespian martyrs, is heroic. Yet "Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat—the Alamo had none."

On the historic heights of the Little Big Horn, Custer's column of 200 men fought 3000 pitiless foes. Slowly they were forced along that narrow ridge a mile or more, fighting part of the time hand to hand, the wounded actually dragged from under the muzzles of their comrades guns, and butchered before their eyes, and still there was no flinching. At the end the little remnant of thirty-eight gathered around their wounded chief and fought and died, sublime witnesses of American valor.

"Their breasts with wounds unnumbered riven,
Their backs to earth, their faces to heaven."

The mother of the Gracchii has justly been honored for the pride she took in her jewels; the Spartan mother for the heroic command to her son, to bring back his shield or be brought back upon it. There are mothers in our land to-day who, at the stern call of patriotism, said to sons—jewels nearer and dearer than life itself—"Go, do your duty," and bade farewell to them with a smile on their lips and death in their hearts.

Tennyson has told how the cannon volleyed and thundered on the Light Brigade at Balaklava. At Gettysburg 300 cavalry charged two miles within the rebel lines, fought three regiments of infantry and one battery of artillery at close range, and rode out of the fight with over one hundred prisoners.

The heaviest regimental loss in any one battle of the Franco-Prussian war was forty-nine per cent. killed and wounded.

In the war of the Union regimental losses of fifty per cent. were a frequent occurrence, and at Gettysburg one regiment charged, drove the enemy and captured his colors, but with a loss of eighty-one per cent. killed and wounded.

Little more than a century has passed since the revolution, yet, for a course of years extending back beyond the memory of any here present, we have taught the young how the Tories did all in their power to thwart the cause of independence. For twenty-five years prejudice on the one hand, and a cowardice, which we call policy, on the other, has caused us to ignore the historic facts of the most eventful period of our nation's life.

The time has come when we should not let party politics, or sickly sentiment, interfere with our teaching the whole of American history.

Said Mr. Webster: "The world's deep and awful anxiety is to learn whether free States may be stable as well as free." The war of the rebellion proved the stability of free States, and made them free in fact, as our forefathers had in theory; let us teach the truth concerning it, not in bitterness, but in a spirit of justice, that those who come after us may know the truth and avoid the rocks that nearly wrecked our ship of State.

While the stubborn endurance, the unfaltering courage, the heroic record of both armies was such as to make us proud that we are Americans, neither sentiment nor pride should blind any of us to the fact that true patriotism demands that we teach the eternal justice of the Union cause; for the future existence of our government depends upon the perpetuation of the very principles for which the Union soldier fought. We do not question the present fealty of any State or section; we know that, if danger threatened our Union, the sons of those who fought to destroy the government would with equal valor battle to protect the national flag that waved over the lines in blue, and still glitters with every star. One side contended for what it thought was right; the other for what it knew then, and we all know now, was right.

I have no patience with the flabby sentimentality that manifests itself now in the "God-knows-who-were-right" idea. To-day it requires no divine mind to distinguish between two causes as different as Union and secession, as different as freedom and slavery. In 1861 it was different; then the States'-rights doctrine was so much an ingrained part of our political fabric, in some localities, that it so warped the minds of some men of the noblest character and highest patriotism, as they understood the word, that they could recognize no allegiance above that due their native State. This class claimed that ours was a temporary union of petty governments to be severed at the whim of any. The Unionist claimed that it was a perpetual Union of the people.

Stripped of all sophistry, the cause and object of the war was slavery, and to get rid of that national curse, for which all sections were responsible, and settle the question of the stability of our government, cost our whole people about eight billions in money, and 600,000 lives; and to show you how necessary it is that patriotism should be taught in business circles as well as by our press, at our firesides, and in our schools, I would state that at least two of the largest publishing houses in the United States issued editions of school books, for sale in certain localities, from which they had carefully expunged everything that would truthfully teach the young the real cause of, the real patriots in, that gigantic war. It was a knowledge of the existence of such a mercenary spirit that caused the Southern leaders to suppose that dollars, not principles, the pocket, not patriotism, would prevent the masses from upholding the Union; but fortunately for us, fortunately for them, fortunately for all, they were mistaken. Divided then, united now, brethren evermore we will be, standing hand to hand, supporting one flag, citizens of one government, upholding one constitution, which we shall not change to please any alien prince, potentate or pauper.

We have not time to tell the story of the war but in brief: The Union army suffered a loss of 110,000 killed, and died of wounds; 30,000 died in prison; 425,000 were wounded. The Union armies captured 476,000 prisoners and forced back into the Union over a million square miles of rebellious territory, containing a fighting population of more than a million men.

This grand record of heroism in war was equalled by that noble magnanimity in peace which, after four years of fierce, bloody conflict, brought none of their adversaries to punishment, and was as potent a factor in securing a perfect union of hearts as was their valor in maintaining a permanent union of States. Shall such an example of devotion and generosity slumber in the archives of the nation? Will our teachings ignore this glorious record of national patriotism? Shall we expunge the grandest pages of our country's history for fear of offending those whom passion, prejudice, interest or false education led into

error? No! Patriotism forbids it; the recollection of the thousands of cold, upturned faces of the nation's martyrs forbids it; duty to the dead, to the living, to the millions yet to be, forbids it; and those who fought to destroy the Union, sincere in their devotion to it now, will forbid it.

We are sometimes told that but for the valor of our foreign-born citizens we should not, as a nation, exist. This is not an historical fact, and to assert it is unpatriotic. We acknowledge the valuable services of the French, even if hatred of Great Britain, not love for us, did secure it; it is true that tens of thousands came to our hospitable shores to build up homes and become a part of us, and when danger threatened they fought gallantly, and thousands died heroic deaths for the land that gave them welcome, but it was their simple duty. If they seek an asylum here, justice demands that they should not stand idly by while the asylum is being sacked. But I claim that they fought as American citizens, not aliens, as patriots, not hirelings. Yet, notwithstanding this, in all our wars, the mass of our soldiers were born and bred on our free soil.

Those who celebrate to-night had to face the great questions of slavery and national existence, and they were easy to decide. The rising generation has other and more difficult ones to face, and to meet them successfully will require honesty, patriotism and intelligence. As a people, the blood of every civilized nation and many savage tribes flows in our veins. As a nation, our safety lies in our ability to eradicate the divers inherited ideas, hatreds and prejudices, hostile or foreign to our institutions and form of government, and to inculcate such as should be indigenous to, and are in sympathy with, laws based upon equality, liberty, and justice. At present we grant to every alien who asks it, all the rights of citizenship; he absolutely and entirely renounces all allegiance and fidelity to his native land, should, and if fitted for citizenship will, leave behind all his old political prejudices, and become in fact, simply an American citizen.

Patriotism demands that we should teach that the politician who injects race or creed into our political system, or trims his

sails to catch any vote not founded on American ideas, is an enemy to our free institutions. The only political ism we need is American patriotism. Let other people and nations dwell upon the deeds that reflect honor upon them; America's achievements are sufficient for us. It is the duty of every citizen to inculcate such a sentiment of love for our country's flag, freedom's standard, "the symbol of our chosen land," that all may look upon it with the devotion that caused our soldiers to follow it to the death. At the military academy the cadets are required to salute the flag whenever they pass it. This should be done everywhere until the outward sign became the spontaneous act of an inward love for that banner, symbolic alike of the glory of our country, and the immortal honor due to the immortal memories of those who upheld it on hundreds of bloody but glorious fields. The only flag that should receive the caresses of our free air is that one upon whose bright stars and flaming folds the dying eyes of America's battle-slain heroes looked last.

Let us inculcate a patriotism that shall bear such generous fruits in pure principles, just laws, heroic deeds, and noble manhood, that in the future, as in the past, the world may see:

"How mighty they who steadfast stand
For freedom's flag and freedom's land."

"ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY."

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WASHINGTON AND THE REVOLUTION

LINCOLN AND THE REBELLION

Fourth of July Oration Delivered by

GEN. N. P. CHIPMAN

Presiding Justice of the District Court of Appeal, Third District of California, on the Fourth of July, 1906, at

AUBURN, CAL.

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Mr. President, Fellow Citizens: There are two momentous epochs in American history inseparably associated in our minds on the fourth day of July. During each of these history-making periods there came forth a great leader of men, both of whose names will be cherished by all liberty-loving people so long as the world shall stand. It is of these men and these periods I am to address you today. I am to speak briefly of Washington and the Revolution—of Lincoln and the Rebellion.

WASHINGTON AND THE REVOLUTION.

I will not attempt the portrayal of the life and character of George Washington. At this remote distance from the time when he was a living and powerful force in the great political movements in which he bore so noble and so conspicuous a part, our interest is awakened more by the events which culuminated in our Coutry's independence, and less by the personal characteristics of the men by whom that profound result was achieved.

Washington's place in history is secure. Eulogium has been exhausted in depicting the sublimity of his character and in the effort to adequately measure the debt of gratitude which he placed upon the American people by his great services to his country. While yet living his canonization had begun, and before he died he had received from the people of his time the exalted title of "Father of His Country."

Born in 1732, he had lived forty years and had been more or less active in the service of the State, before his contemporaries regarded him as an uncommonly endowed man. Like Lincoln he developed the high qualities of greatness which distinguished him under the influence of the tremendous and increasing responsibilities cast upon him. Whether we contemplate him as a soldier, statesman or citizen, his life stands out before us forming a harmonious blending of lofty purpose, unflinching patriotism and sagacious judgment unparalled in the annals of history. With this brief reference to the personality of Washington let us for a moment recall some of the significant events in which he bore himself so nobly and which resulted in the founding of a nation that to-day stands foremost among the great powers of the earth.

To the thoughtful and patriotic citizen

this day must suggest the marvelous fact that, although many centuries were required to bring to their present state of advancement the States of the old world, in but little more than a single century, out of thirteen disintegrated and sparsely settled Colonies, lying along the Atlantic coast, there has arisen a powerful nation of 47 States and 3 territories, aggregating nearly eighty millions of souls, occupying on this continent one-fifteenth of the landed surface of the globe.

And, Mr. President, not less marvelous is the further fact that this vast aggregation of human beings has been welded into one harmonious government, in every essential element absolutely free, and into one homogeneous people possessing all the attributes of a high and enlightened civilization.

May we not then, with some profit to ourselves devote a few minutes to a brief retrospect of the rise of the Great Republic?

The Declaration of Independence, which has been read to you to-day, was a pronouncement to the world in justification of withdrawing allegiance from the Mother Country. Many of the grievances catalogued in that masterly production would have been bourne uncomplainingly if England had yielded to her loyal subjects the principle of representation as a correlative of taxation, and the right to regulate their local concerns, as was afterwards given to the Colonies of Great Britain.

It must be remembered that a Congress of all the Colonies had never been called together until in 1774. For ten or twelve preceding years the Colonies were struggling against the increasingly repressive measures, which were being forced upon them by the Mother Country, but ever protesting and maintaining loyal allegiance to the King, and with no purpose of concerted rebellion or of declaring their independence.

But the insistence for local self-government increased in proportion as the oppression heaped upon the Colonies became more unjust and cruel. And, when Boston Harbor was closed by Act of Parliament, the cry went forth throughout the length and breadth of the land—"The cause of Boston is the cause of us all." A Congress of all the Colonies was called to meet at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774, to secure their common liberties if possible by peaceful means.

To this Congress George Washington was sent as a delegate from Virginia, and became its President. Its remonstrances and appeals to the Mother Country displayed the loftiest patriotism and the highest abilities. Lord Chatham, speaking from his seat in the British Parliament, declared that "though he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master spirits of the world, yet for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusions, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress."

War had not yet come. The Colonists were yet loyal to Great Britain. No thought of establishing a free and independent nation had to this time entered the hearts of the people.

This Congress remained in session until October 1774 and adjourned to meet May 10th, 1775, with no purpose of rebellion. The answer sent to the Colonies by Great Britain was borne by an army of ten thousand troops and on April 19th, 1775, the battle of Lexington was fought and upon the assembling of the Congress in May, Washington was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial forces. But even yet independence was not declared nor was it made the condition of any demand upon the Mother Country. In May, 1776, Washington wrote from the head of the army in New York: "A reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible * * When I took command of the army I abhored the idea of independence, but I am now fully satisfied that nothing else will save us." Most of the Colonies had instructed their delegates to vote for independence and, on July fourth, 1776, the Immortal Declaration was proclaimed to the world.

I must not detain you by a recital of the suffering and heroism displayed by Washington and his faithful army in the ensuing unequal struggle of seven long years. A grateful people will continue in the future as it has in the past, to assemble on this natal day to commemorate the birth of free government in the world, and to offer their tribute of love and gratitude to the noble army of patriots who pledged to their country and to the glorious cause of American Independence, their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Yorktown surrendered October 19th, 1781, and the War of the Revolution closed amid profound rejoicings throughout the Colonies and, on September 3rd, 1783, a treaty of peace was concluded and the independence of the United States was acknowledged by foreign powers. Thus terminated most happily for this country and for mankind the most important period in the history of the Republic.

But, Mr. President, the great, if not the greater, work of establishing a government upon a firm and enduring foundation, was yet to be accomplished.

The Colonies were as yet held together by the Articles of Confederation, which, although a great war had been successfully carried on under them, were fundamentally defective as a foundation for a strong and powerful people.

The States, or Colonies, in Congress assembled, had no authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations or among each other; no power to declare war except with the assent of nine States; nor had Congress authority to execute with the machinery of the government any of the powers delegated to the Congress. When not in session the affairs of the nation were committed, under greatly restricted powers, to what was called a "Committee of the States," to consist of one delegate from each State. Congress could only recommend to the States the necessary action to carry out the purposes of the Union. The States alone could act upon their own citizens even to the power to tax for the purposes of the Federal Union. Any member of the Union could withdraw at pleasure, and refuse to act with or be bound by the wishes of any or all others. As a government it was "a rope of sand."

And now, my friends, we have reached another but not less important period in American history. The depths of patriotic devotion were sounded, and the strongest appeals were made to the Colonies to yield greater powers to the central government, and confer upon it the essential requisites of self-defense and self-support. The Colonies, it must be remembered, had but just broken away from one central power and they held out with a jealous tenacity against a stronger Union, overlooking the fundamental difference between a concession to Great Britain as the central power, and a concession to a body or Congress composed of their own representatives. It was four years after the treaty of peace and seven years after the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, before the Colonies, with reluctance, could be induced to consider by concerted action, the necessity for a stronger central government.

Washington wrote in 1786: "I do not conceive that we can exist long as a nation, without lodging somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner, as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States."

On the 4th day of July, 1787, a convention assembled at Philadelphia of which George Washington was chosen as President, and out of its deliberations, after four months of deliberation, emerged the American Constitution, declared by Mr. Gladstone to be "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purposes of man!"

Nowhere does the far-seeing statesmanship of the Father of his Country shine out as it does at this crucial epoch of our history—the formative period when, as Washington himself declared, "Success in establishing a more perfect Union was of equal consequence with success of our armies in the field."

My fellow citizens: The American Union is not the sudden result of a successful war, or the impulsive and spontaneous formation of a government to meet some unexpected emergency. It is the result of political evolution perfected by processes of profoundest reasoning, and by the loftiest and most devoted patriotism.

All honor and praise to the early fathers who led the people out of the seductive influences and the captivating sophistries that seemed at times almost to overwhelm every effort to secure, by a strong central government, a more perfect Union.

In our rejoicings on this auspicious day let us pause for a moment and bless the memories of those great and good men whose unselfish patriotism made us a nation.

LINCOLN AND THE REBELLION.

Mr. President: We are next to pass for brief review, to the second great epoch in the history of the United States

—to the period of Lincoln and the Rebellion.

I shall speak of Lincoln the man, and Lincoln the President rather than of the incidents and issues of the Civil War. And yet it was through the great responsibilities cast upon him in conducting the affairs of the nation during that sanquinary struggle, and in meeting the issues as they arose, that the greatness of his character and the almost God-like attributes of his great soul were developed.

Marvelous as is the priceless heritage of the American Constitution, handed down to their posterity by the Fathers of the Republic, yet in one fundamental feature it embodied a fatal denial of the foundation principle of the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created free and equal and are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The relation of the Colonies to each other and the existence of human slavery in some of them compelled the recognition of that baleful institution before the Colonies would consent to any form of centralized government. We must not now judge too harshly this action of the founders of the Constitution. With the light they then had they are not to be condemned from the view point of their descendants a century later. Nevertheless the legalization of slavery soon began to develop its corroding influence which increased with the years and finally, beyond any question, became the proximate cause of rebellion and the Civil War of 1861.

There also came down, from an early period in our history to our countrymen of 1861, the dangerous and fundamentally erroneous political heresy, that the Union established by the Constitution was but a federation of States, from which any one of them might withdraw at its own pleasure, and for any cause of its own making. This view of the Union and of the Constitution was confined almost entirely to the slave-holding States and was fostered and inculcated as a menace to those who would interfere with the institution of slavery, and, at the same time, was adhered to as a means of perpetuating slavery by secession from the Union should the necessity ever arise. The Constitution of the Southern Confederacy declared in terms that—the owners of slaves should have the right to take them into any State or Territory of the Confederacy and hold them as property.

It is necessary, my friends, that this situation should be understood in rightly comprehending the enormous weight of responsibility placed upon Mr. Lincoln, and in arriving at any just estimate, not only of his marvelous gifts and the sublimity of his character, but also of the incalculable value of his services to his country and to mankind.

It was given to Lincoln to strike the shackles from the millions held in bondage under the aegis of our Constitution, and to blaze out the pathway for the American people to permanently remove, by amendment of that sacred instrument, every semblance of protection to, or justification for human slavery in this broad land.

More than this—it was given to Abraham Lincoln by the force of his matchless powers and methods of reasoning, and by the results of the great war which he conducted to ulimate victory, to forever eradicate from the minds and hearts of all our people that fatal and destructive heresy that a State may, upon any pretense, sever its relations with the Union.

It was given to Lincoln to bring to the American nation the full realization of that noble sentiment of Daniel Webster expressed in his celebrated reply to the nullification speech of Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, seventy-five years ago: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

Abraham Lincoln was born in the State of Kentucky on February 12th, 1809, less than ten years after the death of Washington.

We may realize in some degree how brief has been the interval of time in the course of which the struggling infant Colonies have developed into one of the most powerful nations of the globe if we reflect that many of the revolutionary fathers were still living when Lincoln was born, and that there were several hundred thousands of Union soldiers still living who responded to his call in 1861 and 1862. So rapid have been the strides of the Great Republic that men are living to-day who were born before all the patriots of the Revolution had gone to their last reward.

The simple story of Lincoln's early

life is best told in his own language. In 1859, one year before he became the Republican candidate for the Presidency, he condensed in a short statement some of the facts. Let me quote briefly: "My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without an education. He moved from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond readin', writin' and cipherin' to the rule of three. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. The little advance I now (1859) have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the presure of necessity."

He removed to Illinois when twenty-one years of age; when twenty-five he was elected to the legislature and served one term in the lower House of Congress. I quote again from his narrative: "From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, I practiced law more assiduosly than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since is pretty well known."

How characteristic this simple, modest story. It was written by him after he had conducted that history making debate with Stephen A. Douglas, and after the name of Lincoln was on the lips of thousands all over the states of the north. It was through this famous intellectual combat with Senator Douglas, and by means of the speeches afterward delivered by Lincoln in Independence Hall, Philadelphia; in Cooper's Institute, New York; and in Faneuil Hall, Boston, that the public mind became focalized on this comparatively unknown yet wonderful man. At one great bound he had, unconsciously, leaped to the front as a presidential possibility and, almost before he was aware of the surging tide that was to carry him into the White House, he became the candidate of the newly born Republican party.

I was a spectator of that splendid and inspiring scene, when it seemed as if the pent-up protests and accumulated remonstrances of long years against Southern aggression and arrogance broke forth in unrestrained and unrestrainable manifestations, and rang out in a burst of defiance—at once a clarion note prophetic of war, and the death knell of human slavery in America. It was a scene of wild rejoicing, and unfaltering consecration to an exalted purpose. The announciation of the Nation's Savior was proclaimed at that hour. The Solid South repudiated the Messiah, but the Loyal North made him President and crowned him with immortality.

The interval between his election and his inauguration witnessed active preparations for war among the Southern States; our army was scattered along the frontier and in the south, far removed from the Capital by a disloyal Secretary of War. Southern fortresses, arsenals and their munitions of war were permitted to fall into the possession of the rebels. All the arts of southern orators were invoked to convince the people of their right to secede from the Union and to convince them that the election of Mr. Lincoln meant the abolition of s avery and was therefore a just cause for Southern independence. The capital of the nation swarmed with secessionists; treasonable utterances were common on the streets and even in the Halls of Congress; three of President Buchanan's cabinet were openly disloyal, and a fourth—his Attorney General—advised him that there was no power in the government to coerce a State and by force to resist its withdrawal from the Union. Into this treason polluted atmosphere, amid these depressing surroundings; into this awfull shadow of rebellion hanging over the Nation's Capital, this modest son of the Republic came upon a mission that was to cost him his life; that was to drench our land in fratricidal blood; but was to witness a Nation new born.

In his inaugural address Mr. Lincoln firmly, but in the most kindly spirit, showed in a most luminous and unanswerable argument that "no State could lawfully get out of the Union," as he repressed it, and that he would do all in his power to enforce the laws in every

State of the Union. His almost pathetic plea for peace moved to profoundest depths the listening throng who hung upon his matchless address. The concluding paragraph, considering the circumstances surrounding him, will ever stand as one of the most remarkable perorations ever delivered by man. He said: "I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passions may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

As prophecy this pathetic appeal reads to us now as a vision of light from the battlements of heaven, though its realization came after long bloody years of war, such as is not recorded in all the years of modern history.

Within five days after Mr. Lincoln had made this appeal to his countrymen, the Rebel Congress passed a bill for the organization of an army. Commissioners were sent to Washington to negotiate a treaty with the government, but Lincoln refused to see them.

These Commissioners remained in Washington undisturbed until in April and as yet Mr. Lincoln had given no sign as to what course he would pursue in the face of open rebellion. He was determined that the first overt act of war should come from the Rebels It came when he undertook to relieve Major Anderson and his gallant company at Fort Sumter. On April 12th, General Beauregard opened fire; war was declared by the South and on April 15th, the President called for seventy-five thousand troops, and more than five hundred thousand sprang to arms in response to the call. The loyal people of the whole country were aroused as never before since the days of Lexington and Bunker Hill. Party ties for the time at the north disappeared; party animosities were swept aside and forgotten in the universal cry "The Union must and shall be preserved." Congress was convened to meet July 4th and in his message to that body when it assembled the President showed by the undisputed course and logic of events, that war had come through no act of the North and through no act of the administration, but solely through the overt acts of the South, and on the single issue that they had the right to withdraw from the Union for any cause which to them might seem sufficient. Of this issue Mr. Lincoln said in his message to Congress: "It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a Constitutional Republic or Democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals can always, upon the pretenses made in this case, * * or arbitrarily, without any pretense, break up the government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, 'Is there in all Republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?' "

My friends, we now begin to see the mental grasp with which Mr. Lincoln seized upon the stupendous issue and how clear and powerful was his manner of stating it and the consequences that were to flow from its recognition. He had a way all his own, characteristic of his written and spoken speeches and messages, of leading the mind to the conclusion he sought to enforce by a plain and simple statement in the form of an epigram or an interogatory.

Thus, at the very threshold of the awful and bloody struggle which ensued, it was made plain to the South and to all the world that the President called the citizens of the Republic to arms for the sole purpose of preserving the Union.

Over and over again he declared that he had not, even as a remote object, or as a consequence of coercing the South by force of arms, the intention of liberating the slaves. In the summer of 1862 Horace Greeley published an open letter to the President demanding on behalf of the people of the North that he proclaim immediate emancipation. The reply of Mr. Lincoln bears the unmistakable characteristics of his frankness and simplicity and of his wonderfully lucid form of expression. Speaking of his policy he replied to Mr. Greeley: "I have not intended to leave anyone in doubt. I would save the Union, I would save it in the shortest way under the

Constitution * * * If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. * * I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free."

It is not in the power of human language to state a purpose more clearly. And yet the crowding events of the great drama of war in which he was the chief actor, compelled him in the following September, as a means of saving the Union, to issue the proclamation of freedom that has made his name revered as the greatest benefactor of mankind.

I cannot, my friends, hope to hold your attention in an attempt to portray the trials and struggles and responsibilities which our great President was compelled to meet and overcome. If he had not possessed the Herculean physical strength and the marvelous mental powers with which God had endowed him in a most remarkable degree, he never could have survived the awful strain of those four years, from 1861 to 1865; he never could have guided our ship of State through the most tempestuous waters that ever threatened the integrity and life of any civilized nation on the Globe. When Mr. Lincoln was called by the voice of a greatful people to preside over the destinies of the nation for a second term, the black pall of war had hovered over our country for four years but was rapidly passing away and the fury of rebellion was fast subsiding into hopeless regrets and heart burnings. His inaugural address was brief but a most graphic picture of the situation of the country as compared with its condition in 1861. This speech has been said to have taken its place among the mos famous of all written or spoken compositions in the English language. In parts it has been compared with the lofty portions of the Old Testament. It exhibited, among other of its remarkable features, the deep religious spirit that pervaded the soul of Lincoln. It was in the closing paragraph that we find that oft-quoted passage exhibiting the great heart of Lincoln—"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

It was decreed that from that day he was to be given less than five weeks to realize this solemnly expressed hope. But he lived to witness the crowning glory of his administration—the overthrow of rebellion, the re-establishment of the Union, and the extirpation of slavery forever from our fair land.

Mr. Lincoln, throughout all this dramatic period, seemed to bear upon his own shoulders and in his own heart, all the woes of his people. I was on duty in the War Department from the winter of 1862-1863, to the close of the war. It was my high privilege to know him and meet him personally and in his official capacity. It is among the most precious memories of my life to have performed some services to my country directly under his eye and by his personal instruction. I saw him many, many times when undergoing the tremendous strain which the trying vicisitudes of official duty were bowing him down almost to the breaking point. But amid it all he stood the one determined, hopeful, courageous figure; never doubting, never flinching, never hesitating but suffering as no man can know how it is to suffer.

I stood by his side at Gettysburg when he delivered that marveously beautiful tribute to the noble dead who lay at his feet. I heard him when with clear and almost angelic voice he turned his care-furrowed face towards the sky and uttered those immortal lines, speaking as one inspired, and as

though in the very presence of the throne of God.

I saw him, too, when the Rebel hosts had laid down their hostile arms; when the glad tidings of peace were proclaimed from every housetop and all the land was filled with rejoicings; but even yet peace had not come to him.

The great problems of reconstruction, the labor of bringing two great warring regions into harmonious relations of peace and unity—of restoring the Union in the hearts of all the people, were upon him. For the moment he was overjoyed, for the moment his mind and soul were relaxed, but only for a moment.

It was a dreadful hour when the assassin struck down this hero of heroes. The blow was given in the name of the rebellion, but it was a blow that even rebellion disowned and indignantly repudiated, for it was a blow portentous of evil to the South.

My fellow citizens, I have endeavored, in the brief time given me, to bring before your conception something like an adequate picture of the man Lincoln as I saw him and knew him and as history has pronounced judgment upon him. I cannot delay you with incidents in his life, so full of dramatic interest.

The conspicuous and dominant traits of his character and mind, as I would analyze them, were: Sagacity, Firmness Modesty, Patience, Magnanimity, Courage, Charity and Loyalty.

I could, if time permitted, bring to your attention many proofs that he possessed all these noble traits. But of all these, the crowning glory of this man's character, viewing him only in his relation to the great work before him, was his deep, intense and all-prevading sentiment of loyalty to the union. The hope of liberty, of free government, of the down-trodden throughout the globe, rested upon this one tremendously vital issue. Happily for mankind it was solved in such manner as has made this nation a beacon-light pointing to the ultimate universal enfranchisement of the whole human race.

Let us then, my fellow citizens, with reverent spirit, on this our greatest holiday, thank God that through his guidance this nation has had a "new birth of freedom." Let us rejoice that through the wisdom and patriotic devotion of Abraham Lincoln and the loyal hosts who sustained him, it was decreed that "Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

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ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY

OF SAN FRANCISCO,

AT THE AMERICAN THEATRE,

ON THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF DECEMBER, A. D. 1852,

BY REV. T. DWIGHT HUNT,

Pastor of the New England Church.

SAN FRANCISCO:
COOKE, KENNY & CO. PUBLISHERS,
STATIONERS' HALL, CORNER OF MERCHANT AND MONTGOMERY STREETS.
1853.

San Francisco, December 23d, 1852.

Rev. T. DWIGHT HUNT:

Dear Sir,

The undersigned, members of the New England Society of San Francisco, feeling desirous that the Oration delivered by yourself, upon the occasion of the commemoration of the Landing of our Pilgrim Fathers, at Plymouth, in 1620, should be published, would respectfully solicit a copy of the same.

With respect, Sir, we remain

Your obedient servants,

JAMES WILSON,
STEPHEN P. WEBB,
E. KNIGHT,
J. R. ROBINSON,
FREDERICK BILLINGS,
C. D. CUSHMAN,
F. A. HUSSEY,
EDWARD P. FLINT,
HENRY F. DANA,
LOUIS R. LULL,
H. L. DODGE,
J. D. HUNT,
R. N. BERRY,
A. G. RANDALL,
J. PERRY, Jr.
JNO. P. H. WENTWORTH,

San Francisco, December 24th, 1852.

Gen. JAMES WILSON, Hon. STEPHEN P. WEBB, and others:

Gentlemen,

You are aware of the short time allowed me for the preparation of this Address. If, however, you judge it worthy of the form and circulation you propose to give it, I submit it to your disposal.

Respectfully Yours,

T. DWIGHT HUNT.

WHITTON, TOWNE & CO., PRINTERS,
Excelsior Printing Office,
128 Clay Street, near Sansome.

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ADDRESS.

Mr. President,

And Gentlemen of the New England Society:

The day we celebrate was like any other wintry day of 1620. Its cold, its snows, its rock and ice bound coast, its leafless forests whistling in the wind, or echoing to the whoop of the Indian, the howl of the beast, or the moan of the surf, were no more uninviting and forbidding than was usual in December, on the borders of a northern sea.

But the day will never be forgotten. It became the starting point in the history of a people, few only in their commencement, but whose institutions are to-day felt in the religion and government of every other. On that day a few families landed on the shores of a wilderness, whose children, in two hundred years, were to build their homes over the graves of a hundred tribes, and through vast forests and beyond mighty rivers, and over high and distant mountains, stand at last where we stand, and from the

Western limits of the New World look over to the Eastern limits of the Old. Those few men were our Fathers. We are proud to be their Children.

For the first time, since the discovery of the Continent, was a colony planted at the *right time*, on the *right principles*, in the *right circumstances*, in the *right place*, and by the *right men*.

More than a hundred years had been wasted in fruitless experiments. The Spaniards first entered on the career of discovery, conquest and wealth in the Western Ocean. Not, however, till after JOHN CABOT, a Genoese, under the patronage of Henry VII., of England, had discovered the American Continent, was their attention diverted from the Islands to the main shore. Florida was the first part of the present teritory of the United States they attempted to colonize. But after several unsuccessful expeditions to occupy the soil and develope its wealth, extending their researches through most of the Southern and Western States, they left the country on which they had sought so faithfully, but so vainly, for gold.

The French next entered into competition for possession of the soil. After a few years of toil and suffering they yeilded at length to Spanish invasion, and relinquished a Colony they had commenced on the shores of Carolina. Better success, however, attended their settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence. A fort, a town, a trade, and cultivated fields, made them the first settlers of Canada. But the Colony languished through its existence and finally yeilded to English arms. It commenced wrong. Men of enterprise were at its head, but they had no industrious

and virtuous yeomanry to carry out their plans. Twice France empted her prisons on the new territory, and with criminals attempted to lay the foundations of a new empire. The folly was soon acknowledged. During the first winter one was hung, several were put in irons, and many others, women as well as men, were publicly whipped! From such material not even Cartier nor Roberval could form a prosperous community. It was not till Champlain with a better class of pioneers founded Quebec, that the colony of New France was firmly established.

In the mean time England had caught the spirit of France and Spain, and through several distinguished navigators undertaken to continue her discoveries and take possession of the Western shores. The honor of the first discovery of the coast already belonged to her. She now commenced settlements in Newfoundland and North Carolina. That at the North became permanent at once, principally from its proximity to the fisheries, which even then made England and France jealous rivals on the seas. That at the South at first failed. Not even the genius of Sir Walter Raleigh could overcome the obstacles in the way of the first settlements of the Roanoke.

That distinguished man and early friend of America, after fifteen years imprisonment, died under an unjust sentence, and by the hand of an ungrateful king. But the grateful citizens of North Carolina have reversed the judgment of the Court of James, and reared to their early patron an enduring monument, by giving his name to the present Capital of their State. It was a revival of the old "City of Raleigh," which had been founded more than a

hundred years before on the Island of Roanoke, and which enjoyed the distinguished honor of being the birth place of the first daughter, of English parents, born in the United States, in 1587. It was a noble act of a generous people, to honor its founder by renewing, in their present seat of government, that first but soon desolated city.

The next attempt of the English was made on the banks of the Chesapeake. This colony, after years of struggle, at length prospered. But even this, like other English and French colonies North and South, commenced wrong. It began with forty-eight "gentlemen," only four carpenters, and without a family. Its government, both civil and ecclesiastical, had not one popular element. Both Church and State were connected with a crippling and crushing power beyond the waters. The whole was too dependent on home capital and home control soon to stand or go alone. The first town, however, then built still stands; and, with the exception of Augustine in Florida, is the oldest in the Union. The noble State, of which the builders of Jamestown were the first founders, became the Mother of Presidents, of whom the first and best was the glory of Americans, the immortal WASHINGTON.

But Virginia, noble and great in and of herself, owes much of her glory to influences that went down to her from the North and East. In all other honors, except priority, Jamestown must yield to Plymouth.

Thirteen years after the first settlement of Virginia began the first settlement in New England.

That colony our Fathers planted at the *right time*. The time was approaching for the grand experiment of a popular

government and a popular religion—an independency and a purity in Church and State which are the perfection of both. For this period long preparation had been made. But the world had made progress slowly. Only by convulsions, that had put back society almost as far as they advanced it, had one generation taken the lead of another. Advances made in one age had been lost in another. Improvements made by one people had been obliterated by another. At times all the world's best treasures were threatened with loss in general war or universal oppression.

Egypt once took the lead of the nations. But all that remain of her ancient glories are the monuments of the pride and folly of her kings. Greece, borrowing some things from Egypt, and inventing and discovering others, has left structures magnificent in their ruins, and works of statuary, poetry and oratory, and a system of mythology, that will survive in unrivalled beauty—long after the last pillar shall have crumbled from the temples of her gods. Rome borrowed and plundered from her rivals, though she added the iron of her own nature to the milder productions of the south, both in her literature and her laws; and perpetuated at her capital and disseminated throughout her wide domains the arts and the civilization she acquired. Whereever she bore her arms she carried also her customs and her laws. Thus Spain, France, Germany, and finally Britain, received both their conqueror and their teacher.

On Britain, however, a sturdier, yet better growth of manhood grew up than the world had yet seen. After the struggles of various conquerors, the blood of many brave nations of the north were mingled in one superior race. In

the course of time, and by the general laws of human progress, the Anglo-Saxon developed into the leading nation of the civilized world. But there seemed, even then, to be a limit to civilization. Some new elements were needed in society to advance it. Some greater facilities were required to keep the world in motion. Moreover, what should prevent the reversion of the wheels whose onward revolutions had advanced mankind thus far? Doubtless, Christianity had raised Western and Northern Europe above the ancient world. But Christianity had stooped to paganism and folded its superstitions to her bosom. Its idols had been gradually set up in her churches. Its manacles had clasped her wrists and bound her down to the servitude of the powers of darkness. What then should prevent the return of men half civilized to complete barbarism? Why, with the weight of a corrupted Church, crushing the neck of the best nations of christendom, should not even England fall to the old level of Babylon and Egypt? Simply, because she threw the burden off. England followed Germany in throwing off the Papal yoke.

Preparatory to this the mariners' compass had come into general use. This had enlarged the sphere of human enterprise, and so enlarged the views of men. Then had followed the art of printing. This had afforded facilities for the diffusion of knowledge, and so awakened and given new impulse to human thought. Then had succeeded the Reformation, under Luther, in Germany. Thence it had spread into Switzerland, France and England. Thus conscience had been set at liberty. Liberty of person was soon demanded. The shackles had thus gradually fallen

from the mind and body of England, and thenceforward the world was destined to be free!

But not nnder Henry VIII., nor under the bloody Mary, was the English Colonization of the coast of the United States, commenced. They were both zealous Romanists, though they broke from their allegiance to the Pope, and had our shores been colonized under their patronage, the mitre as well as the crown would have been transferred to these States, and only another Europe would have grown up in mighty oppressions and deep degradation.

It was not till the fires of Smithfield had been extinguished, and Elizabeth, the head of established Protestantism, had succeeded to a long and prosperous reign, that the way was rapidly opening for the settlement of the New World. But, though eventually a firm Protestant, Elizabeth persecuted Protestants. That persecution brought forward into prominence the Puritans, a sect that had first attracted notice during the reign of Mary. The same persecution, continued under king James, drove a company of those Puritans to Holland. A part of the company, weary of waiting for toleration in their native land, sought, in 1620, on the borders of a savage wilderness, over the Western Ocean, "freedom to worship God." These were the founders of the colony of Plymouth.

At a time when inventions and discoveries had afforded facilities for the promotion of knowledge, and for the advancement and perpetuity of civilization; when reformation in religion had awakened the mind to think, and emboldened men to write and speak; when Protestantism had infused activity into the mind of the leading power of the world;

when the old feudal system, that had so long bound society by the iron law of caste, was yielding to the force of popular improvement; when religious dissension had awakened political discussion, and a thirst for religious freedom kindled desires for political independence; then those few exiles, inured to toil, disciplined by persecution, enlightened by observation at home and abroad, strengthened in virtue and practical godliness by a courage that had confronted kings and queens, sought a home and a church on the Western shore.

One year before, a pestilence had swept off the tribes inhabiting the coast where they landed, so that where they expected to meet the arrows of a savage foe, they found deserted wigwams, and the graves of those who built them. They found also, to their joy, an interpreter to the tribes that soon came to their settlement. That interpreter was an Indian, who had been taken by a previous party of discoverers, sold into slavery in Spain, but who, having escaped into England and acquired the language, had finally returned by another ship to his native tribe. Thus did these special providences of God, together with the signs of the times throughout the old world, conspire to indicate that the most favorable time for the establishment of a successful colony had come.

Again: The Colony of Plymouth was started on the *right principles.* It was a colony of *families.* Previous colonies on the coast had been communities of *men.* Such was the cotemporary settlement at Jamestown, at its commencement. Even its first reinforcement consisted only of "vagabond gents and jewellers" in search of gold. Not

till years of doubtful struggle, and almost failure, was an attempt made to correct the evil by the importation of ship loads of fair young maidens, to become the wives of the adventurous pioneers. Two cargoes of the precious freight were successively landed on the shores of the Chesapeake. They proved to be the most profitable investment of the colony. Virtue had then a home. Society, resting on the family basis, became permanent. Had it been so from the beginning Virginia would not have lost her first important years.

But the fathers of New England brought the mothers of New England with them. Wives who had shared with their husbands the persecutions of England and the privations of Holland, came to share with them the toils, the perils, but also the wild yet hopeful and delightful freedom of America. Noble wives of noble men, true to their heart's love, faithful to their husbands, their country, and their God, they were the angels of the Pilgrims over the waters and on the shore. They made the wigwam cheerful. Their voices in song made the spreading tree a temple. The voice and the forms of their children gladdened the forest home. Worthy Mothers of New England's daughters—they shall have a place by the side of the Fathers in the hearts of their children, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the latest generation!

The colony of Plymouth was, therefore, a colony of *permanent homes*. It was not a colony of commerce. Our fathers left England forever. They came to settle their children around their graves. They brought their hearts' best treasures with them, that no old attachments should take them back. Therefore they early loved the land that was to be the inheritance of their children. Therefore they

sought to conciliate the tribes that were to be the ally or the foe of their posterity. Therefore they cherished schools that should educate their descendants. Therefore they guarded morals and fostered churches that would bless distant generations. No mere adventurers thus live for the future. No temporary seekers of gold thus lay foundations for ages to come. Other colonists, North and South, looked back to France and Spain and England as the home of their old age. Their hearts, therefore, always clung to the soil and the institutions of the old world. The new world was to them only a place of temporary exile. They cared not how much they corrupted it. They made every endeavor to impoverish it. The least they could leave for those who should succeed them the better for themselves. Had such been the policy of our fathers, the waste wilderness they converted into gardens would have yielded only to scenes of still greater desolation.

The colony they planted was established on the principles of *equality* and *democracy*. There was no high blood among them to claim distinction by inheritance. There were no titles among them but such as the people conferred. From the same rank in life, they were on terms of social and political equality. Of choice, therefore, they readily adopted a republican platform on which to stand, though with true loyalty they acknowledged the crown of King James above them. For nearly twenty years the whole adult male population constituted the legislature. Before they left the Mayflower the first company drew up and subscribed a compact which was the germ of our present constitutional liberty. It was no patent of nobility. It was no grant of

lordly immunity. It was no title royal to lands unknown. It was a simple basis of a popular government for mutual protection. It was a concession of all private interests that would conflict with the public good. It was the organization of all individuals into a body politic, for the enactment of equal laws. That is true democracy.

American republicanism was born in the cabin of the Mayflower. Some of us have seen, in the rooms of the Historical Society of Connecticut, the very old Holland chest, on which the instrument was drawn up and signed, and felt an honorable pride in our descent from the original democracy of America!

The colony our fathers planted commenced with an *independent religion.*

They had fled from establishments, and thus left behind them the greatest tyranny of the age. Beyond the waters, they determined to place themselves and their children beyond the reach of hierarchal power. A devout and useful clergy they would reverence. Bible instruction they would heed. They would rise up before the man of God. But conscience was to be sacred. None should rob them of the right of private judgment. If, in self-defence, they fell somewhat into the religious fault of the age, and oppressed some who differed from them, they early saw the error and removed the wrong. Had the Puritans brought with them an established priesthood, to set up on the frozen shores of New England their ghostly domain, Roger Williams would never have consummated in Rhode Island the entire separation of Church from State. The *independent church of John Robinson,* first of England, then of Holland, transferred by Brewster

to the shores of the New world, was the *mother of modern religious liberty;* liberty that was first begotten in Geneva, developed in Scotland, born in England, rocked in the Pilgrim ship on the ocean, preserved through a periled childhood in the colonies, but grown to maturity in the United States of America!

If afterwards taught a bolder and purer liberty, it was the vigorous constitution and indomitable moral courage inherited from the Puritans that brought the child to final and reliable independence. It is glory enough for Roger Williams that he was the child's guide.

Again: The Pilgrims commenced their colony in the *right circumstances.*

The *isolated position* of the colony was favorable to the maintainence of their principles. They were far enough removed from the French on the North, and the Spanish on the South, not to be corrupted by the contact. Therefore they were not tempted by the courteous lasciviousness of the one, nor hardened by the cruel avarice of the other. Moreover, the shadow of the old world did not reach over the waters, to overawe them by its towering pride, its giant power, its monstrous monopolies. The presence of no pompous forms tempted their children to depart from the simplicity of their worship. The splendor of no Court seduced their posterity from the plain virtues of democracy. No standing army burdened the industrious and corrupted the young. The distance, the expense, the terrors of the voyage, the destitution of the colonies, kept from their settlements the vicious poor, and the vagrant beggars and idlers of older lands.

Their independence of *government patronage* freed them from many embarrassments. The burdens of the East were not, therefore, entailed on the West by compact. Greater equality of condition was thus secured. The feudal system was not established among them to create monopolies, aristocracies and oppressions. The right of primogeniture soon yielded to the necessity of the times and the spirit of the people. Lands were freehold. A system of public registry was established which has become almost universal. Thus the subdivision of the soil among the people broke up and prevented great estates, and so, by equalizing the condition of the people, laid a sure basis of a popular government.

Society, too, was starting on new soil. It could, therefore, start with every advantage for progress. There were no old systems to pull down. No inertia of prejudice was first to be overcome. No force of custom was to be resisted. There was not even the ruins of old things to remove. But at once the pioneers of civil and religious liberty could begin to build on their chosen foundation, and after their own model. They did so; and our great Republic is their eulogy.

Again: The colony of the Puritans was planted in the *right place.*

New England owes much of her character to her rocks, her frosts, and her rugged hills. Not one of the gorgeous colors with which the early navigators had painted the scenes of their discoveries belonged to the land first trodden by the Pilgrims. The sands of Cape Cod, the barren hillocks that stretch away from the Plymouth shore, the gravelly beds and rocky slopes that bore the stunted heath, or sent

up between the crevices the gnarly oak, these promised to the Pilgrim explorer only a hard-earned livelihood. The tardy spring, the blasting winds, the frequent drought of summer, the premonitory autumn, the hastening winter, these taught him the stern necessity of industry and economy. The beautiful valley of the Connecticut did not soon tempt them to pleasanter homes and easier and more abundant harvests. Not one stream rolled down to them its golden sand to draw them hurriedly from the shore. Mountains and forests and the savage foe confined them to a narrow compass, till their united strength had started one mother colony of industry, purity, intelligent liberty, and independent piety. Afflictions, toils, perils, privations, kept them long looking up to God, strengthened them against the tendencies to corruption, and made knowledge, liberty and religion the only valuable legacy they could bequeath to their children.

To the untempting soil, the severe climate, the absence of gold, the want of inducement for the investment of capital, to these we owe it that the avaricious and bigoted Spaniard had not defeated the English occupancy of the land by the slavery of the Indian tribes, and by the double yoke of Spain and Italy. To those natural qualities of New England which demand fortitude of mind and hardihood of body, do we owe in a great degree those social, intellectual and religious excellencies so peculiarly her own. Had Massachusetts been as Cuba in nature she would have been as Cuba in condition. Had New England been as Mexico in minerals she would have been as Mexico in morals. And without the religious as well as intellectual basis, no where so well laid as in the land of our Fathers, our Republic would have

been like their's, the prey of priestly and military despotism, and the contempt of the world.

Had wind and tide borne the Mayflower southward, and by the "Father of Waters" introduced the Pilgrims to the great valley of the West, the present history of New England would not have been written. The history of emigration has too sadly proved how slow are the sons and daughters of the educated and the pious to build school houses and churches, where a little labor rewards with plenty, and a small investment hastens fortune. The Islands of the sea, and these attractive shores, are strewn with wrecks to admonish even the descendants of the Puritans, of the dangers of perpetual summer, easy indulgence, and abundant gold.

Rough New England!

> Hard to plough her stony hills,
> Hard to till her sandy plains,
> Hard her winds and storms to breast,
> Hard her wintry coasts to brave.

But the granite of her hills is more precious than our quartz. Her plains have yielded greater riches than our placers. She has given *men*, *principles*, and *institutions*, as an example and a standard to the world!

Not one stone too many have our fathers turned. Not one drop of sweat or blood too much have they shed to subdue the soil, the climate, or the foe. Their sons and daughters, while they enjoy the rich inheritance left them, are proud of the hard muscle and enduring self-sacrifice by which it was earned.

It is almost needless to say, in conclusion, that the first colony of New England was planted by the *right men.*

The character of the Puritans may have been austere.

But stuff less sturdy would have yielded to the stern necessities of the times. The times demanded just such men. The times created them. The times continued them till the establishment of their great principles required them no longer.

They were indeed a peculiar people. But their peculiarities were not without reason. They grew out of their principles. Consistency demanded them. True, they were odd; but they were honest. They trusted God, yet helped themselves. They loved to pray, but as we know full well, dared to fight. They loved England, but preferred freedom. They loved liberty, but they cherished law. They obeyed law, but resisted tyranny. They acknowledged a king, but the very first government they established was the germ of subsequent independence of the crown. They revered the ministry, yet made the spiritual as well as civil officer dependant on their choice. If for awhile they were intolerant, they were never hypocritical. If not gallant, they were brave. If not courteous, they were true. If they flattered not kings, they eventually elevated the people to sovereignty. If they discarded the crucifix, they all the more honored Christ and loved the church. If they placed the Bible before the classics, and the clergy before the magistrate, they also valued learning, and maintained the law. If they discouraged display and amusements, they ennobled man by enthroning the virtues. If they undervalued refinements, they taught every child of the colony to read, to work, to pray. The superficial observer may sneer at their oddities, but every student of their history must admire their lives. Self-exiled from their country, persecution had only developed their great qualities for great deeds.

They were *Englishmen.* They were, therefore, the world's best seed with which to start on a new and ample soil a giant race. England may well be proud of America: but America should revere England. Her soil is sacred with the dust of the good and great. Only Old England could have been mother of the New. Of all nations her monarchy only could have developed into the constitutional republicanism of America. No other land could have produced the Pilgrims of 1620.

But the Festival of today is not all joyous. New England mourns, and we mourn with her. Her greatest son now sleeps with her fathers. She has other sons, but she weeps as though she were childless. Not till she gives the world another WEBSTER will she be comforted. But while the world remember Webster, she and the whole Union will have reason to be proud. For he lent dignity to man. He gave fame to his country. He made her literature classical. He elevated the standard of her courts. He made her Senate a house of nobles. He imparted greatness to her statesmanship. He widened her policy. He centralized her power. He immortalized her Constitution. He gave to the old Bay State, the Commonwealth of the Pilgrim Fathers, her first, her proper place in the Revolution and the Union. That Union he lived to preserve "one and inseperable." On the floor of Congress he had no equal. In the office of State he had no rival. Before a bench of judges his logic was irresistible. Over a jury his power was complete. On great public occasions, and in all great political emergencies, he always bore away with him the hearts of his countrymen.

And he bore them to the tomb. That tomb he had long

before built at home. That home he had selected near the Bay where the Mayflower anchored, and not far from the Rock on which the Pilgrims landed. Thirty-two years ago, on the second centennial of that memorable event, Webster stood on that Rock and paid a tribute to his fathers worthy of the son.

But the great man has lain him down to rest with the Puritans who sleep around him. Yet his voice will long fall powerful with mighty words on the ears of judges, jurors, deliberative bodies, and breathless or applauding multitudes. Long will the grandeur of his person rise up to overawe admiring men. Ever will the memory of those who saw and heard him retain the impression of his presence. New Hampshire has no such granite left. She gave to Massachusetts the choicest block from her mountains, to cut and fit for that pillar in the Capitol which has just crumbled into dust.

Sons and daughters of New England! You are the representatives of a land which is a model for every other. You belong to a family whose dead are the pride of the living. *Preserve your birth-right.*

By virtue, that frowns on vice; by integrity, that scorns a bribe; by industry, that honors labor; by patriotism, that lives for coming generations; by religion, that builds national grandeur on intelligence, justice, and truth, live worthy of your ancestry.

Here is *our* Colony. No higher ambition could urge us to noble deeds than, on the basis of the colony of Plymouth, to make CALIFORNIA THE MASSACHUSETTS OF THE PACIFIC.

Compliments of
Grove L. Johnson

7

Eulogy

DELIVERED BY

HON. GROVE L. JOHNSON

Sunday, April 28, 1912

at the

Theatre Diepenbrock

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

on the

Occasion of the Memorial Services in honor of the Unknown Musicians of the "Titanic"

Under the Auspices of the Saturday Club of Sacramento

"They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters;
These see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep,
For he commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof."

THESE words of the inspired psalmist have been borne deeply upon our minds and their truth more plainly shown to us by the lamentable scene of two weeks ago, on Sunday, April 14th, 1912.

The largest ship in the world, the pride of man, the mighty vessel of steel, designed and built by the best genius of naval architects, steamed a few days prior, amid cheers of onlookers, waving of flags, fluttering of handkerchiefs, and praises of all, with 2300 human beings on board, on her maiden voyage from the old to the new world.

Skill had been used, money had been lavished, in her construction, until ship builder and ship owner alike with much reason believed that in the "Titanic" there had been at last launched upon the ocean a craft as unsinkable as the ark that bore Noah and his family in safety.

I saw her last year while she was on the dock at Belfast with thousands of workmen plying their tools ceaselessly, that she might soon enter the list of ocean runners competing with her twin sister, the Oympic, and proudly and safely carrying men and women from one continent to the other. At that time, and again two months ago, when we traveled on her older, but really twin sister, the Olympic, with the same Captain and most of the same crew that manned the Titanic, I thought they were both absolutely secure from all dangers of the seas.

Of her appearance as she steamed across the vexed English channel and plunged into the waves of the broad ocean, it was aptly said:

"She walks the waters like a thing of life,
And seems to dare the elements to strife."

On, on she sped, passengers and crew happy, enjoying the journey, walking over the vast structure, admiring its fine proportions, its magnificent furnishings, its endless appliances for the comfort and luxury of its guests, the smooth working of the ponderous ma-

chinery, passing the hours in pleasant games or conversation, or listening to the music of the band in the gorgeous lounge, library, reading rooms and parlors, believing that with such a ship so strong, so perfect, so fitted for conquering danger, that the only thought was of joy unconfined.

The feeling was universal amongst all on board that in after years they could tell by fireside and table of the many joys of the maiden trip of the largest ship ever known to man.

"Oh, that a dream so sweet, so short enjoyed,
Should be so sadly, cruelly destroyed."

In the twinkling—as it were—of an eye, all this goodly enjoyment was rudely shattered; the magnificent steamer lay broken and dead at the bottom of the sea; while 1650 human beings were hurled suddenly into the presence of their God.

The Atlantic again demonstrated its power—its greed for human life, and laughed to scorn the puny efforts of man to control it. We well may say of the ocean:

"The armaments which thunderstrike the walls
Of rock-built cities, bidding nations quake,
And monarchs tremble in their capital;
The oak-ribbed leviathans, whose huge ribs make
Their clay creator the vain title take
Of Lord of thee, and arbiter of war;
These are thy toys, and, as the snowy flake,
They melt into thy yeast of waves, which mar
Alike the Armada's pride or spoils of Trafalgar."

In four hours all that was left of that giant ship was engulfed forever beneath the waves save a few boats filled with terrorized people paddling mid ice and berg and waiting for dawn to realize their sad condition.

Multimillionaire and pauper alike, were summoned to the Court of Man's last resort, and glory be to manhood, each shone heroic in the last moments.

"Women and children first," was the cry voiced by all, and poor laborer and rich land owner in unison heeded it. Heroism was the rule—cowardice the exception. Heroes were numbered by the hundreds—cowards only one. Women like men shone in the light of death with heroism unsurpassed. The loving wife who would not desert the husband of many years, but preferred death by his side to life away from him, warms our hearts to overflowing as we read of the devotion of Mrs. Isidor Strauss to her grey haired spouse. The words of Ruth come promptly to our minds as we scan the recital of her act:

"Entreat me not to leave thee, for whither thou goest, I will go, * *
Where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried."

They are both now sleeping in the same grave, locked in each other's arms, and coffined only by the ice cold waters of the broad Atlantic.

There have been, there always will be found, heroes in the world. While the age of chivalry with its fantastic vows and penances, its armor, its spears, its tournaments, has long, long passed, still today, as in all the years of man's sojourn on the earth, and in all future years, there will be found men and women whose names are entitled to be inscribed upon the Temple of History as heroes.

In the past the roll is large. Among them: Regulus and Quintius Curtius in Rome; Leonidas and Marco Bozzaris in Greece; Tell and von Winkelreid in Switzerland; Bayard and Du Gueschlin and Joan of Orleans in France; The Cid and the Maid of Saragossa in Spain; Vercingetorix and Hermann of the Rhine in Germany; Gordon, Havelock, Nelson and Florence Nightingale in England; Nathan Hale, Farragut and Perry in our own dear land.

Heroes all, who faced sorrow, pain and death with a smile and many of whom died on the field of battle fighting valiantly for their country and their countrymen, for liberty for themselves and their people.

They have been immortalized and justly so in poetry and prose and serve as beacon lights to point the road patriots should unflinchingly travel, no matter how dangerous its way or how sad its end. They died where they were known—their sacrifices have not been forgotten. Their names are graven deep upon the records of their countries in letters of shining gold upon the pure white of the page, that all may see and read and know who they were and what they did, and give due homage to each and all.

Among the heroes of the sea will rank high, none superior, those whose glorious conduct we meet today to eulogize—the unknown musicians of the Titanic. At present no names are given to us of this galaxy of heroes. Perhaps in time we may learn them, but thus far to us they are "The Unknown."

Paul found in the streets of Athens an altar erected by its citizens and bearing this inscription: "To the Unknown God." We have erected in our hearts an altar and have placed upon it this inscription: "To the Unknown Musicians of the Titanic." Paul bade the Athenians to listen to his declaration that the, to them, unknown God was of a verity the true and only Jehovah. We ask all the world to honor these unknown heroes, for we know that they do truly represent that indefinable something that is called heroism, and we also know that each is justly entitled to be named side by side with any and all of those honored by historian, orator, sage, or poet.

"Whether on the scaffold high,
Or in the battle's van,
The fittest place for man to die,
Is where he dies for man."

In the highest and purest sense these musicians died for humanity. The music that they loved was their only inspiration in this midnight

terror, in this their victorious battle. They had no applauding army to view their wonderful achievements, no cheering comrades to animate their spirits, no official bulletins to greet them as the bravest of the brave, no thankful king or country to bless and reward them in this life, no fellow citizens to march in triumphal procession in their honor. No, none of these. They took no thought of their own escape from the sinking ship, but calmly faced impending and certain death, while aiding others to seek rescue from the doleful wreck and to find encouragement in their music.

They died alone, with none to see or know of their brave deed, save those for whom it was done and who mostly perished with them. Yes, one was there, the Recording Angel of the world who then and there did write their names in the Book of Life with tears of joy that men could be so good. They went without a murmur to the cold embrace of death in the icy waters of the bleak Atlantic in the shadow of the deadly ice berg that other men and women, to them total strangers, might have courage in the last hours of life to meet unnerved the grim archangel Azrael, and might answer the summons from the High Court of Heaven, the only mandate that cannot be gainsaid, with fortitude and resignation.

In other battles where heroes have been made, men fought with earthly foes and earthly weapons with at least a chance of success. Her they contended with the unconquerable forces of Nature with no hope of triumph.

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

They gave their music with their lives that they might pour sweet assurance of the joys of a life beyond the grave into the hearts of others; that they might soothe weak woman and strengthen stalwart man in the last moments of their existence.

The death of these 1650 persons was horrible. They felt, no doubt, as one of old did say of his own feelings:

"Lord, Lord! Methought what pain it was to drown,
What dreadful noise of waters in mine ears,
What ugly sights of death within mine eyes;
Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks,
Ten thousand men that fishes gnawed upon!"

From the days of Pan and his pipes, of Orpheus and his lute, of David and his harp, to the present hour music has always been the means whereby the joy or sorrow or triumph or defeat of man was made manifest to his fellows. By music always, praises to God have been given—thankfulness for His mercies expressed and devotion to His cause pledged. This is the universal law among all "nations, tongues and creeds." The early Christian martyrs in the Coliseum when the wild and savage beasts were turned loose upon them in the arena to please a maddened multitude of Pagans with the death

scene of men, women and children as they were torn, mangled and eaten by the hungry lion, or tiger or hyena, raised their voices and sang the holy hymn or psalm and thus were enabled to sustain with unfaltering spirit the defenseless victims of wicked persecution as they suffered this horrible cruelty.

When the British regiment was in retreat and confusion from the sudden and ferocious attack of the fanatical Afghans, the music of the two drummer boys who died playing the martial tunes of England brought back courage to the Britons, reformed their lines and gave them a hard earned victory.

The inspiring strains of the Marsellaise as sung by the ill clad, half fed, poorly drilled and untried volunteers of France put such reckless disregard of danger, such enthusiasm into the hearts of the Frenchmen that the disciplined armies of Prussia and Austria were driven in rout from many a battle field.

The music of the Star Spangled Banner when wafted to the ears of Americans sojourning in a foreign land from passing band or hotel orchestra, makes body and soul together thrill with patriotic fervor and a thankfulness that they are citizens of this Great Republic.

So it has ever been, so it ever will be. Music, sweet music, from voice or instrument, enthralls the senses, clarifies the mind. "It gives the timid courage, it makes the feeble strong;" it makes heroes of men and women alike, it conquers passion, it soothes the troubled spirit, it purifies the heart, it makes men better as men in peace or in war.

My mind brings before me a vision of these poor unknown musicians obedient to the generous impulses generated by their love and practice of music and in their case by the blessing of God, marching up and down the wide promenades and staircases of the doomed liner; I can hear them at first playing lively tunes to cause sailors to work faster in launching and loading the boats, and passengers to step quicker into them. Then as they mount to the topmost deck and gazing into the darkness of the night realize that the end has come, I can hear them as they change the air to the strains of that most beautiful of all hymns, "Nearer My God to Thee." Its melody comes back to me over wave and sea—over land and shore, until my whole being rouses to the sound and my heart throbs with admiration for the grandly heroic conduct of these brave men. Then I can see these gallant heroes, still playing their instruments, facing death with unfaltering heart; then I can see them plunge with the ship to death into the cold, cold waves and the notes come fainter and fainter to my senses until finally they melt into silence unbroken save by the lapping of the exultant ocean.

Once again the sea has triumphed in its combat with the works of man, once again it has turned to naught his efforts to ride over its boundless course as he does over land. It has effaced all traces of its slaughter of its enemies. With the ceaseless motion of its waves over the grave of the victims of its illimitable strength it

announces its victory and with calm confidence awaits its next adversary, whether built of wood or steel.

"Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll—
Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain;
Man marks the earth with ruin—his control
Stops with the shore; upon the watery plain,
The wrecks are all thy deed, nor doth remain
A shadow of man's ravage, save his own,
When for a moment, like a drop of rain,
He sinks into thy depth with bubbling groan,
Without a grave, unknelled, uncoffined, and unknown."

These men did not die in vain. The story of their glorious victory over the terrors of death will be told forever. Their heroic action will not fade with time, but will grow brighter as years roll by. Devotees of music in ages yet to come will recount their sacrifice and therefrom grow stronger in their love for and belief in the influence for good of music upon mankind. They cannot be welcomed home on earth, as other heroes have been and will be, but they will ever be revered by the world and honored in the eternal home of God.

And now, farewell, oh heroes of the Titanic, farewell ye nameless musicians who proved yourselves so true to right and duty. You have imprinted upon the scroll of honor in the Temple of Fame an anthem that shall echo and reverberate through all ages yet to come, speaking always to thy glory, carrying courage to all who toil and sorrow and ever giving loving help to those who struggle mid the dangers of life's stormy sea. May we not hope, yea, may we not believe, that as the last faint melody of "Nearer My God To Thee" sounded forth by you upon the boundless sweep of waters blended with the requiem of the wave as it gathered you to its bosom—yea, may we not say in verity that we know that the angelic voices of the "Choir Invisible" greeted your souls with hymns of joy and welcome as you entered into the harbor of eternal bliss.

A. J. JOHNSON COMPANY 518 J STREET SACRAMENTO

A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

W. W. KNOTT,

OCTOBER 22nd 1884.

Compliments of

IRVING CLUB,

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

LYON & McCUSKER, PRINTERS 411½ California St., S. F.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

Standing as we now do on the eve of a great political contest, it is not a matter of much difficulty what to say. The difficulty seems rather to be what not to say—at least what to say in a short address.

If we glance around us we shall see two powerful armies, drawn up in martial array, and eagerly awaiting the hour of battle. Each army has already chosen its leader, and, as is always the case, one of these leaders is destined to be the victor. The Republicans have placed themselves under the leadership of one who (happily for the Democrats) is no stranger to the American people. His name has been before the people for a number of years; but, unfortunately for him, we cannot help thinking that his name has been before the people just a little bit too long. A man, you know, may run for office "too often and too long." So it is with Blaine as he will find out, to his sorrow, shortly after the 4th day of next November. James G. Blaine is a shrewd man; but James G. Blaine is utterly devoid of true manly depth. He is a cunning man—so is any successful rascal ; but he is totally devoid of true manly statesmanship, for no man can be considered a statesman who figures everything down to self—who thinks *nothing* of the people's pockets, but *everything* of his own. He is wily, scheming and dishonest, as have been repeatedly and unquestionably proved. Blaine is a good debater; but reason have we to suppose that a good debater will necessarily make a good President. Our best Presidents, those great patriots whose names will live in the minds and the hearts of the American people as long as this earthly

sphere continues to whirl through space, were not our greatest debaters, nor were they chosen Presidents simply because of their debating powers. If Blaine is such a powerful debater, as he no doubt is, his party had best keep him where his debating powers can be of most service, to wit, on the floors of Congress. The Plumed Knight has not enough regard for the welfare of the people, nor has the greatness of soul to warrant him becoming the leader of our great people. The office of President seems to me to be a trust of the most sacred importance. He is, so to speak, the god of our little world. Now is Blaine such a man as we could look up to and reverence as the leader of our great people? I think not, and I do not believe that there is not one man before me who can place his right hand before his honest heart and affirm the contrary. I am perfectly well aware of that old presumption that every man is deemed to be innocent until he has been proved guilty. But we are also aware of another fact, that when one has been proved guilty that one is no longer entitled to the presumption of innocence. Now, I ask you gentlemen in the name of truth and of honor, in the name of justice, of God and of humanity, has not the Plumed Knight forfeited his right to the presumption of purity and innocence? I know that you can answer me only that he has. The Republicans ask what has Cleveland done to be entitled to this great honor, and they contemptuously ask for his record. I would to God, gentlemen, that Blaine had Cleveland's record, or one half so good; for every man, whether Democrat or Republican, must, of necessity, be interested in the other's candidate. We are interested for the simple reason

that one of the candidates must, in the very nature of things, be our President, and hence it is that every good citizen is equally interested in the personal qualifications of each and every candidate.

But to return to Blaine's record. Blaine, as I have just said, has been before the people for a number of years, and his record, while long, does none the more credit to him or to his party. We hold that the short record of a man whose every act has been as pure and transparent as the sunlight itself; whose every thought is, not of self, but for the advancement and improvement of his fellow-men; who has the strength of mind to do justice in spite of political influences brought to bear; who will destroy every hot bed of stench and corruption even at the risk of his own political preferment; such a record, we say, while short, is infinitely better than the long record of another whose whole political career has been the very opposite. Better than one who has been the active attorney for gigantic public steals; who has been the express tool of bloated corporations; who has made thousands of once happy homes and loving firesides desolate; who has averaged a million of dollars for every year that he has been in public office; who, either through fear or policy or for the sake of British gold, allowed a true American citizen, while travelling in Ireland, under the badge of American liberty and freedom, to be cast into a British dungeon, away from God's glorious sunlight and happy home and family, and to have his food shoved under the great iron door like an imprisoned criminal; to lie and rot in this foreign dungeon, and to be kept so long in this hideous womb of hell, that the innocent man's eyes were fairly bursting

from their sockets, when a word from Blaine—a sesame—would have burst assunder those iron doors, stript those iron chains from off his bleeding limbs, and have restored the innocent American, to wife and children, to liberty and to freedom.

This is a short account of Blaine's treatment of Mr. McSweeney, an American citizen, travelling as a private citizen in Ireland, as every school-boy knows, and it is an act that can never be justified in the sight of God or of humanity, either by Republican whitewash, soft soap or by their crocodile tears. But in the face of Blaine's treatment of Mr. McSweeney, and notwithstanding the thousand and one slurs which he and his party have cast upon the Irish people, and more. notwithstanding Blaine's infamous Madigan circular the Republican presses which, by the way are bigoted, narrow and dishonest, contend that thousands of the Irish people are going to cast their ballots for know-nothing Blaine. I do not believe it! It goes against my reason and my judgment! The Irish people are not such turn-coats—they are not such traitors! They are made of better stuff, I know, and as anyone else will know who has had intimate relations with them. The Irish people is a loyal people. They hate with all the intensity of their natures all kinds of tyranny and oppression; for they know that it was oppression that drove them from their own Emerald isle. This is one of the many reasons why the Irish people are opposed to the Republican party, for they readily see the evil tendencies of Republican centralization—their concentration of power. But the Republicans say Blaine made votes by his attitude on the Chinese question. Don't you believe it! He did not do

much,and what he did do was only another of his many political dodges. Neither he nor any Republican did half so much on the Chinese question as did the Democrats. The intelligent Irishman knows that Blaine's heart is barren of all feeling for him, and that he is but playing with the Irish his "high game of chess whereof the pawns are men." Blaine likes the Irish just so long as he can use them, and no longer, but there seems to be a disposition on the part of the Irish not to be used.

The Blaineites deceive themselves very much when they count upon the Catholic vote. It is natural and reasonable to suppose that, everything being equal, true Catholics would conscientiously support one of their own religious creed. But the Catholics demand of him whom they support that he be true to himself, to his fellow-men and to his Church. They despise, I am sure, a Catholic hipocrit fully as much, if not more than they do a conscientious Prostestant. The Catholic church demands of her followers a firm and manly assertion of their belief and faith in the church of Rome, and, as a consequence, they cannot feel particularly friendly with the author of the Madigan circular, the patriotic son of know-nothingism, the deserter of McSweeney. They cannot love the Plumed Knight—this modern Don Quixote who so beautifully shows the white feather, and who is shaking in his cowardly boots for fear that he will lose the Irish vote. Blaine terms the Catholics ignorant and superstitious; but they are *not* ignorant of the masterly manner in which Blaine straddled the religeous question. The Knight of the windmills, and the would-be closer of gin mills, vows that he is a dyed-in-the-wool Protes-

tant, and every act of his miserable life shows that he has no particular affinity for his mother's religion, as may be seen by referring to his Madigan circular. Blaine was brought up in the Protestant church; became one of the pillars of that church, and claims that he was married in accordance with the Protestant rites; but as the subject of his marriage is a tender one, we shall drop the matter right here. Blaine has no more love for the Catholics than Frank Pixley himself. The only difference is that Pixley has the manhood to sign his name to his articles, while Blaine will resort to a Madigan circular. And, without any exaggeration, we can say that a catholic would be as much justified in voting for one as he would for the other.

But characteristic of Blaine he straddled the religious question, and the straddling would have done justice to those old heathen oracles, whose ambiguous answers have been the amusement of all posterity. No; Blaine cannot get the Irish vote so long as memory hold its seat, and a ray of intelligence governs their actions. The patriotic Irishman would have his right hand wither and rot before he would hold in it a Blaine and Logan ballot.

The lines of demarcation between the two great political parties are, after all, but faintly drawn; yet there are some differences. The Republicans are the aristocratic party—comprising all the brains of the country, as they modestly term it, and nearly all of the money. We will not take issue with them in regard to the matter of wealth. We admit that they possess most all of the money; but why shouldn't they? They have taxed the poor people of this country to death in order to increase

the millions of their millionaires; they have had control of the government's pocket-book for the last twenty-four years, and have occasionally glanced into it; they have also had all the offices of profit and trust, the sinecures and the spoils. They are the party of greed, avarice, corruption and oppression. They are endeavoring to keep their ill-begotten power by raping our true American suffrage, while they cling to their monumental stealings with a death-like tenacity. Villainy will thrive for a time; and has flourished for the last quarter of a century; but thank God it is at an end now. It will hear its death knell on the 4th day of next November. If you will show me a gigantic public steal, I will show you, without going very far, a handful of mercenary Republicans; show me a Star Route fraud, a crooked whisky plunder, or a navy swindle, and I will again show you a gang of Republican robbers; show me a swindling corporation which steals from an innocent public, under a cloak of right, and which binds down with its iron hand, the laboring people —the bone and sinew of this fair land, and I will show you a band of Republican daylight thieves! This is strong language, I know; but, gentlemen, we have been milk and water long enough. There never has been, throughout the annals of history, an epoch of such tyranny and oppression as this our people are now undergoing. When will it stop? Why our heroic forefathers, gentlemen, would have arisen in their majestic might, and either have put down such tyrants, or decapitated them. But our remedy lies in the ballot—the bulwark of American liberty, and the people should now arise in their majestic sovereignty and bury the Repub-

lican party so deep that the ruins of Pompeii were as heaven to them. I, for one, will fight them as long as there is a drop of blood in my veins, and I would to God that every oppressed and poverty-stricken father, brother, son and husband, whose once happy home has been made a dismal hell, and whose loving fireside has been totally destroyed, was my opinion. Let us awake from this Rip Van Winkle sleep! Let us throw off this fatal lethergy! This thing must stop! By heavens it shall stop! Political parties, government, law, religion, and everything else under the sun were made for the happiness and welfare of man. Man was not made for them. We were not made for the express purpose of keeping such notorious rascals in power, who keep such power by buying up starving voters. Their play is to keep the people starved down so that they can buy their votes with a loaf of bread. We have been patient long enough, God knows; we must now change tactics! We must fight the devil with his own fire, and the sooner we begin, the sooner will be our victory. We must put these public robbers on the defensive, or put them into iron dungeons were they rightly belong. When I think, gentleman, of the speech of Allen G. Thurman's, the greatest statesman that ever adorned the Senate of the United States, I cannot help experiencing a feeling nigh unto that of reverence. It was he who showed up the gigantic steals and outrages practiced by these vile corporations—the illegitimate issue of a Republican administration—upon a helpless and an innocent public. He showed that neither the Central Pacific, nor the Union Pacific Railroad Company had ever repaid the government one dollar on its

unparalled generous loan; but had placed the millions rightly owing the government into their own private purses. Their object undoubtedly is to swindle the government out of its loan and its interest.

On the other hand compare Grover Cleveland with Blaine; but in so doing it is proper that we should first beg Cleveland's pardon for the comparison. Cleveland's record, while short, is one that would never bring a blush of shame to the fair cheek of Democracy. He is a self-made man, and has arisen Phœnix–like from the ashes of tyranny and oppression He is one man who sincerely loves the people whether rich or poor, great or small, so long as they are honest and upright. he has intelligence enough to *see* his duty; conscience enough to *feel* that duty, and back-bone enough to *do* that duty. He is eminently qualified, in every manner, for the Presidency; for any man who is qualified to govern the great state of New York, is competent to preside over the people of the United States. Cleveland will be bitterly opposed by every greedy corporation whose only aim is to swindle the people as well as the government, and they are powerful antagonists, because of their enormous wealth, and their vast multitude of employees. He will also be emphatically opposed by the great army of office holders throughout the United States who care *nothing* for principle, and *everything* for the Almighty dollar. But, on the other hand, Cleveland will gain the unqualified support of the vast multitude of honest people are not to be slavishly whipped into line; who have a proper regard for their ballots; who work on the principles of honesty and equity, and

who have the good of our government at heart. we must have a change of scenes and of actors in the political drama. Under the present regime the administration is constantly becoming more corrupt and loathsome. The Republicans think that they have got every thing their own way, and that they can do just as they please. They have got so that they regard themselves as the owners in fee simple of these United States, and that we are all their slaves, without voice, and without right.

Let's show them this time, fellow members, that we are freemen; that we ourselves have something to say about this government, and let's give the Republicans a good defeat. It will do them an ultimate good to be snowed under this time—it will be an act of charity to relieve them of some of their arrogance and conceit. Continuation in office is consummately wrong in principle, and its effects are unsalutary.

Another great Republican war-whoop is that of Tariff and the damnation of Free Trade. The Plumed Knight's Circus is travelling all over the country preaching Tariff, and whistling up votes. I shall not comment upon the dignity of Blaine in so doing, because necessity will often times strangle dignity. Blaine knows that he has got to rustle—that his case is a very bad one. He has deliberately lied; for he said that he would not make a personal stump. Cleveland's course is dignified—he is not obliged to blow his own horn. Why Blaine sees fit to preach against Free Trade when it is not an issue can only be explained by the poverty of his campaign material. I do not propose to go into Free Trade to-night, for it is not an issue in this campaign; but I will say that there

never was a question so little *understood* by the great majority of voters, or one that is so much *misunderstood* by the great mass of people as this same question of Free Trade. It is no issue now. The country is hardly ripe enough for it; but the day will come when Free Trade will prevail. It may not be in our day, gentlemen, yet it will come.

Let's glance at it, just a moment, since Blaine and the Republican presses are agitating it against the Democrats now, as a thing most pernicious. There is no denying the fact that the American people is one of the greatest nations on the face of the earth, and, as a matter of consequence, should be recognized as such. There is no legitimate reason why we should not honorably contend with any nation under the sun for the world's vast commerce. We have as many facilities for manufacturing cheaply as any other country. Why can't we do it? Why, simply because we *do not*, not that we cannot, but because we do not compete with England and other great countries in the cheapness of manufacturing. That's plain. And consequently we lose all of that prodigious foreign trade. Other nations get it, and we get nothing—we get left. We can never expect any vigorous foreign trade until this ghost Tariff is entirely dispelled. Why can't we compete with England in cheapness? We raise our necessaries of life—a thing which England cannot by any possibility do. Our territory is larger, our rents are cheaper, our glorious soil will laugh a crop of wheat into existence if only tickled by the plow. Live stock of all kinds roam, flourish and grow fat on our verdant pastures. Why, I repeat, can

we not live as economically and better than the English people, who are obliged to import all their necessaries of life, pay higher rents, etc.?

But, say the opposers of Free Trade, the prices of labor in America would be cut down to that of the English mechanics. Did it ever occur to such advocates that by Free Trade the price of labor will materially advance in England, and that the increased demand for help will keep up the prices of labor, not only in America, but all over the civilized world. Besides this the expense of living will be reduced from 50 to 60 per cent., and it is only reasonable to say that the laborer will find, at the end of the month, as many bright dollars in his pocket, if not more than when the Tariff was in full force. For if we have Free Trade, and are able and do compete with other nations for the world's vast market, we shall have in this country, hundred of factories where we now have dozens. Consequently there will be a much greater demand for labor, and hence good wages for such labor. It may hurt England; but it will be the making of America! England wants us to keep high Tarift so that she will be able to control the foreign markets. In California we manufacture about five millions; we pay twenty-five millions for woolen goods alone. Hence this State loses every year one twenty millions by Tariff. The building of hundreds of large factories would necessitate the expenditure of much capital among carpenters, builders, hardware merchants, and mechanics of various kinds. Every stream of available water which now runs to waste, would be used in turning great factory wheels, and the beautiful Niagara, the wonder of the world, would

become a perfect theatre of busy commerce The help necessary to operate these many factories would be many thousands of additional hands, and this, of course, would invite thousands and thousands of skilled mechanics, with their industrious families, to our fair land.

Mr. Morrow in his Protective Tariff speeches lays great stress on the present national wealth as compared with the national wealth of twenty years ago. The increase, he says, is because of Protective Tariff. This is not true! Twenty years ago there were millions of acres of vacant land, which represented no national wealth. Since 1860 many millions of acres have been sold, and improved, and hence represents millions of additional public wealth. This would have occurred whether we had had Free Trade or Tariff. A man goes out prospecting, and he comes to a barren rock which absolutely represents nothing in value. He prospects the place and discovers a perfect El Dorado of shining gold. For the first time, again, new wealth is brought into the country, and this is added to the national wealth and prosperity. Mr. Morrow argues that this is because of Tariff; but it does not take much of a head to see how fallicious this theory is. The gold would have been just as bright and plentiful under Free Trade as under Tariff. What has Tariff or Free Trade to do with it? Nothing. Mr. Morrow also says much about the wool growers of this State, and how are they protected now. It is estimated that there are some four thousand wool growers in California. If Morrow means by wool growers, the lazy, indolent herders, and all people connected however mentally, we may grant it. But how much would

it be for the country and for those same people if they were occupied in some more manly enterprise. The Republicans give out the idea that the more the manufacturers make the better off will be the laborers. There never was a greater mistake made in the worldthan this. Laborers'wages are governed, not by the amount of the employer's profit, but by the market price. The millionaires do not pay any higher wages than do others. Protection might be good for the laboring classes if this were the case; but this readily can be seen to be false. Suppose, for instance, that old Stanford wants to erect a house. He could, as a matter of fact, pay 100 men at the rate of $50.00 per day and then not expend one-half of his income; but do you suppose he would do it? No, he would not. Neither will the manufacturers increase the laborers wages in proportionto his increase. This is this idea of bettering the condition of the laboring people. There is a mistake here somewhere.

On the other hand, under the present system, we are obliged to depend entirely and exclusively upon our home market for the sale of our manufactured goods, and it can be readily seen that our supply is very much greater than our demand is, or ever will be, and hence it is that our factories are closed a great deal of the time, and our laborers out of employment one-third of the time. In those states were we have no factories, and where we cannot consume all that we produce, we are necessarilly driven to a foreign market for the sale of our raw material To show other hardships it will only be necessary to take a single example. Railroad iron is now held in America at some eight or ten dollars a ton higher thah it would be if

this present Tariff did not exist. As a consequence railroad companies are obliged to pay this advanced price for their materials, and, as another consequence, their rates for the transportation of passengers and of freight are very much higher than if the cost of the material were cheaper. But the companies lose nothing—it all comes out of the people's pockets. Internal transportation, therefore, is often very much greater than foreign transportation, and again the United States are the losers. This is decidedly wrong. That 55,000,000 of the people should be taxed to death to benefit (as they say, but which we see to be false) some 2,000,000 laborers, is something that seems a trifle strange; that the whole people should be taxed to apparently aid a few, is contrary to every American principle—it is not far short of special legislation. Thousands and thousands more families would have employment, good wages and happy ffresides if we had Free Trade, instead, as now, of the limited number who are oblibed to inaugurate strikes and mobs to keep in employment, and evn then are out of work half of the time. There is a mistake here somewhere. This Tariff is simply the play of big capitalists who are alone profiting by it. The people are the real sufferers! It is high time that the workingmen would open their eyes, and see what this great skelnton of Tariff really is anyhow, and not swallow everything told them by men who are growing rich by the peoples ignorauce, and who are not only laughing at them but are actually boasting of it. Under the system of Free Trade the large front doors of our prominent factories would not present their cold dsrk faces to the darkea faces of

our poverty stricken families; but the entire land from north to south, and from east to west would be a continuous song of busy people. Trades of all kinds would become prosperous and opulent, and the family circle would become a ray of golden sunshine. Crime would depart our land, for the parent of crime is hunger! Peace would reign supreme, property would be secure, and the seas would become the glassy highways for thousands of American vessels.

I do not intend making a Free Trade Speech, for that is premature; but when the time is ripe, and it is finally adopted, we shall see a vast immigration of honest laborers, with their families, who will soon have their own little homes; we shall have labor given to carpenters, boat builders, wharf-makers, iron moulders, and mechanics and producers of all kinds; we shall have millions and millions of foreign capital deposited into this country every year; we shall see an advancement in the prices of our coal lands, iron lands, ore lands and property of every description; we shall break down the constant temptation of crime, and the purchasing of honor, by doing away with enormous accumulation of public treasury and instead of having hundreds of millions moulding in the safes at Washington, we would have this money in circulation among the people where it rightfully belongs. We would have the expense of living reduced, and tax nothing but the luxuries which the wealthy can afford to pay for. In short, whenever Free Trade is adopted we shall see a picture of life far different from that which the republican pessimists would have us believe, and instead we should find the whole *moral*, political and financial status of the American peo-

ple elevated to that of the Gods.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me say: Stand by the party of liberty, philanthropy and prosperity! Stand firm to the party which has ever been true to the people and which has been honored by the best Statesmen in the world; the party that has ever opened its wide arms and protected all alike; where the beggar and prince are as equal as they are in the sight of God; where liberty and happiness are given to every home, and where Tyranny and Oppression dare not enter. The party that has been proved for over eighty years, the party that embraces the only true principles of justice and humanity, and the party that rejoices in having the majority of the American people. Stand firm to the old Democratic Ship. She has stood the test of generations; she has weathered many a hard sea; but by the grace of God she will soon enter the harbor of success. Let us fully unite our strength; let us stand together, and *Victory is Ours*

Respectfully, W. W. Knott,
of IRVING CLUB,
San Francisco, Cal.

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From the "Congressional Record."

DIRECT TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

HOW TO MAKE LABOR FREE.

SPEECHES OF

HON. JAMES G. MAGUIRE

OF CALIFORNIA

In the House of Representatives of the United States, January 11, 1894; October 13 and 14, 1893; August 23, 1893; August 26, 1893.

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DIRECT TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

Speech of **HON. JAMES G. MAGUIRE**, of California.

In the House of Representatives, Wednesday, January 31, 1894.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 4864) to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes, and the question being upon an amendment thereto offered by the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. McMillan), providing for a tax on incomes, etc., the following proceedings were had :

MR. MAGUIRE. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The amendment was read, as follows :

Amend the amendment by striking out sections 1 to 18 thereof, both inclusive, and inserting in lieu thereof the following :

"*And be it further enacted*, That a direct tax of $31,311,125 be, and is hereby, annually laid upon land values in the United States, and the same shall be, and is hereby, apportioned to the States and Territories and District of Columbia, respectively, in proportion to population as ascertained by the census enumeration of the year 1890.

"SEC. 2. That the said direct tax laid by this act shall be assessed and laid on the value of all land exclusive and irrespective of the improvements thereon ; *Provided*, That all lands belonging to the United States, or to any State, county, or municipality, shall be exempted from assessment and taxation under this act ; *And provided further*, That all land subject to taxation under this act shall be valued and assessed, for the purpose of taxation, at its full market value, on the first Monday in March of each year, the valuation for the fiscal year commencing on the 1st day of June, 1894, to relate to the first Monday of March, 1894.

"That, for the purpose of assessing said tax and collecting the same, sections 9 to 12, both inclusive ; sections 14 to 48, both inclusive, and sections 53 to 58, both inclusive, of that certain act entitled 'An act to provide increased revenue from imports to pay interest on the public debt, and for other purposes,' approved August 5, 1861, are hereby re-enacted and made of full force and effect in so far as they provide for the assessment and collection of direct taxes on lands and lots of ground, and for any and all methods and procedure in the levying, collection, and enforcement of such taxes."

Mr. MAGUIRE (continuing) said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN : The arguments in support of the pending amendment have all proceeded upon the theory that the proposed tax upon incomes, above $4,000 per annum, will compel the rich to bear a fairer proportion of the expenses of the Government than they now bear, and that the people will be satisfied with the accomplishment of that result. The people do, indeed, very much desire the establishment of such a system of taxation, and their claim for a more equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation is unquestionably just. But they are really desirous of substantial relief from the present power of the rich to use their wealth for the oppression of the poor ; and they expect some measure of that relief to come to them through the income tax.

Such relief will not come from the income tax, nor will that change in our system of taxation even tend to curb the oppressive power of wealth. It simply puts a 2 per cent. tax mainly on the results of useful investments and of personal effort. The control of labor by wealth, in certain forms of investment, and the consequent unfairness in the distribution of the products of labor is a matter of infinitely greater importance to the people than the equalization of the burdens of government, which is sought to be accomplished by the income tax. I am in favor of the income tax, as proposed by the Committee on Ways and Means, because it is better than the system of taxation now prevailing ; because the burdens which are laid by the income tax, wherever they may ultimately fall, are all for public uses, while under the tariff system three parts of the burden are laid for the enrichment of private individuals to every one part that is collected for public use.

As a choice between the income tax and any extension of tariff taxation, beyond that provided for in the Wilson bill, I will unhesitatingly vote for the income tax.

UNDUE POWER OF WEALTH.

But, sir, I seek by the amendment which I have just submitted to establish a system of taxation by which the revenues necessary for the support of this Government can be raised without any burden whatever upon either industry or commerce, and by which, at the same time, the power of accumulated wealth over labor will be destroyed. The power of wealth to oppress labor results almost entirely from the present investment of wealth in the control of the natural resources, from which alone labor can produce wealth.

Land is the storehouse in which the Creator has placed the raw materials of all wealth, and labor is the means by which those raw materials are changed into forms of usefulness for the satisfaction of human wants. Wealth is the result of labor applied to land, or to the products of land, and land furnishes not only this raw material for all wealth, but it constitutes also the home and the working place of all labor. All of these things the Creator freely provided for the use and sustenance and shelter and comfort of mankind by giving the land of the world, with its abundant resources, as an equal heritage to the whole human race. The same Creator made man a land animal. He must live upon the land, and from the fruits of the land, if he shall live at all. All of his food and clothing and shelter, and every other thing that will tend to satisfy his wants, natural and acquired, come from the land. Indeed, his whole physical

body comes from the land, and goes back to the land again at the close of his life.

Separated from the land, man must perish, just as a fish would perish on being separated from the water, which is his element. Therefore, if man has a natural and inalienable right to life and to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness, he must have a natural and equally inalienable right to the means which the Creator, who gave him life, has freely and abundantly provided for his support. There can be no right to life more sacred than the right to the means of sustaining life. "You take my life when you do take the means by which I live." Liberty is impossible to one man so long as another man controls his means of living.

It does not matter whether the dominant person holds a bill of sale to another as his chattel slave, or holds an absolute title to the only means that the other has of sustaining his life, the dependent man is just as truly and just as completely a slave, in the latter case, as the chattel is in the former. Therefore, it follows that whenever, in any country, one class of men become the owners of the land, all other classes in that country are subject to their dominion, no matter what other conditions of freedom exist. The owners of the land have the power to fix the terms upon which all non-landowners may live in the country, and have the power, without performing any productive labor themselves, to compel all producers to give up to them, without consideration, such share of the wealth produced by labor as they (the landowning class), guided only by their own avarice, may determine.

This unnatural power of the landed class over the producers who are not landowners, naturally and inevitably begets a system of industrial slavery such as now prevails in this country, and in all other civilized countries of the world. But land ownership gives something more than the mere present power to exploit and oppress labor. In all growing communities there is a constant upward tendency of land values. This growth of land values results entirely from the presence, industry, enterprise, and virtues of the whole people of every such community. Land values are never produced by the individual owners of the land. They grow with the growth of population and in proportion to the enterprise and industry and inventiveness and virtues of the whole people. They result entirely from what the people, as a whole, do.

That value attaches to all land of the same character similarly situated, no matter whether the owner uses it or holds it in idleness; no matter whether the owner resides upon it or resides in some foreign country; no matter whether he daily cares for it or has never seen it. The people produce the value and the private owner is permitted to appropriate it to his private use.

GREATEST OF ALL INCOMES.

This ever-growing value constitutes to-day a source of private income greater than all other incomes from invested wealth in this country combined; yet, the proposed income tax bill does not reach it at all, and it cannot be reached by any income tax that has been suggested.

Political economists call this steady increase of land values, resulting from public effort for the enrichment of private owners, the "unearned increment" of land. The private ownership of land is the only means by which individuals can secure to themselves the unearned increment, and this induces men to speculate in land that they do not want to use. Speculation in land closes its natural resources against labor, and places labor at an unnatural disadvantage in the struggle of life. It takes away from labor the natural opportunities which the Creator provided for it. It destroys the independence of labor and renders it a helpless commodity in the market, whereas, with those natural resources open, upon anything like the terms upon which the Creator gave them, labor would be free and independent as the Creator intended it to be.

The laws therefore, which permit private individuals to appropriate the unearned increment of land are the cause of land monopoly. Men do not monopolize land in order to oppress their fellows, although the effect of monopolizing it is to oppress and starve and degrade and injure the landless people. Men monopolize land solely because it pays to monopolize it. So long as the community allows the speculator to take to himself the unearned increment which the community gives to land, it will be profitable to monopolize land.

There is no other form of investment in which wealth oppresses labor, for every other form of investment depends upon production for its return, and in order to secure its return, must in some way promote production, thus extending, instead of limiting, the opportunities of labor.

But investments in land are made remunerative by limiting the opportunities of labor. Land speculation is, therefore, the only form of investment that is really injurious to labor, and the increment resulting from it is the only private income that is produced entirely by the whole people. If, therefore, there is any form of investment that should be discouraged, it is speculation in land. If there is any form of investment from which the people are entitled to a share of the income, it is speculation in land; because, as I have shown, the income from that form of investment results entirely from the general enterprise and industry of the whole people and not from what is done by the investors.

PURPOSE OF THE AMENDMENT.

My amendment proposes a tax on that unearned increment as a substitute for the taxes on other incomes prescribed in the bill which has been offered as an amendment to the Wilson tariff bill. It seems to me, sir, that I have already specifically shown the justice and expediency of confining taxation for the

purpose of meeting the expected deficiency in our Federal revenues, to incomes from the unearned increment of land; but, I am fully aware, and this House is fully aware, that the purpose of my amendment is not at all limited to the trifling burden which it purports at present to lay upon the enormous land values of this country.

It is understood, by you as well as by me, to be the assertion of a principle, which, if conceded to be sound, must ultimately transfer the entire burden of all taxation for the purpose of supporting our Federal, State, county, and municipal governments, from all other subjects, to the value of the lands of this country; ultimately appropriating the rental value of all land, exclusive and irrespective of its improvements, to public use. It is meet and proper, therefore, that in the primary discussion of the question there shall be no evasion, no deception, no concealment of premises, no obscuring of issues, and no avoidance of questions that must be fairly and honestly met and answered in extending the principle which I have here asserted to the ultimate and logical conclusion which I have stated.

It means, unequivocally, the assertion of the natural and inalienable right of the people of this country, in all generations and at all times, to the lands of this country "which God hath given them." It is not, as has been erroneously stated, a claim that the lands should be held by the people in common use, which is impracticable in a condition of civilization, but that it should be held in common ownership, with private individual use in severalty, secured and regulated by the Government, as trustee of the natural common right.

In view of the broad scope and ultimate purpose to which this amendment but points the way, I will avail myself of the privilege accorded by the House, of fully and fairly, according to my ability, presenting in general the whole argument in favor of the ultimate purpose, of which I have avowed this amendment to be the suggestion. Before proceeding to that discussion I desire to say a few words further upon the income-tax measure, for which it is offered as a substitute.

TAXES ON INCOMES CAN BE SHIFTED.

The income tax, while it will be infinitely better for the masses of the people than any form of tariff taxation, will be a grievous disappointment to those who have been its most ardent and honest supporters. It will not in any way check or limit the power of wealth to oppress labor, because it does not at all reach the source of that oppression. I have shown already that it leaves untaxed the greatest of all incomes from invested wealth, namely, the ever-increasing value of land, a value that has increased thirty-fold during the last sixty years, according to statistics, in the United States.

In addition to these objections, the great bulk of the income tax, falling as it does upon the results of productive effort, and upon returns from capital in use, can be shifted from the primary payers to the shoulders of the poor. It will not stay where it is put. For example, a manufacturer makes a profit of $50,000 next year, upon which he will pay an income tax of $1,000. Will he ignore that item in figuring on his contracts, or in fixing the prices of his commodities? Certainly not; he will figure it as an expense of his manufacturing business, and he will, as a sensible business man, add it with his other expenses, and a reasonable margin for the outlay, and to cover the uncertainty as to the amount of the tax, to the prices of his commodities, and it will follow the goods until it is finally paid, with its added percentages, by the farmers and laborers who consume the goods.

So it will be with the merchant. He will shift the income tax just as he now shifts all taxes that are levied on his goods. So it will be with the banker and the money lender. They never pay taxes. If they are taxed they add the tax to the interest which they receive for the use of their money. It does not matter to the manufacturer or the merchant or the banker or the private money lender, or to the railroad or steamship company, whether the tax is levied upon their investments or upon the incomes from their investments. It is precisely the same to them. The laws of trade determine what their net returns shall be, and every expense that is added by way of taxation or otherwise will be added by them to their gross prices, leaving their net incomes just as they are fixed by competition in trade.

The proposed income tax will catch the holders of such present mortgages as are not overdue, but it will be shifted by all future mortgagees, whether making or renewing loans. For example, the net rate of interest for which money is now loaned on perfect, untaxed security is 2½ per cent. per annum. That is the rate upon which loans are freely offered on untaxable bonds of the United States Government. Proportionately higher rates are charged on private loans to cover risk, expenses (including taxes), etc., etc., rising as high as 60 per cent. per annum. If a tax were laid on Government bonds equal to the interest which they bear, they would become at once a dead investment and nobody would buy them except at a discount.

In order to sell the bonds it would be necessary to increase the interest so as to leave 2½ per cent. per annum above the taxes to which the bonds were subject. It does not matter whether you lay the tax on the bonds or on the income derived from the bonds, the effect is to burden the investment, and the interest must be increased or the bonds must fall to a discount. So it is with mortgages; so it is with all investments of capital. The investments or loans are made for the purpose of securing the net return which the laws of trade prevailing generally throughout the world give to such investments. In countries which give the greatest security and impose the lowest rate of taxes, or no taxes, upon

investments, interest will be lowest, because money will flow to such country for investment; and money will flow away from a country imposing heavy taxes upon that kind of wealth until the rate of interest rises sufficiently to cover the tax imposed, thus leaving the net return which capital will yield to the investor in the most favorable country.

Under the proposed income tax even the landlords could shift a large portion of the tax falling upon them; for, although tax on the rental value of land generally cannot be shifted, and tends to reduce rather than to increase groundrents, tax on the rent of land in use only is a burden on the use and not on the monopoly, and it can, therefore, be very largely shifted. This tendency would be intensified under the proposed system by the tax on incomes derived from improvements on land.

The tax on incomes from personal earnings could not be shifted, but the proposed tax on nearly all forms of invested wealth could and would be shifted. The financial world lives on percentages. It calculates them closely, and it never bears a burden, however slight, which it can possibly shift to a customer.

The financier is a lightning calculator and his business is to see that the net return, for which his investment is always made, is kept clear of all burdens. You cannot tax capital nor incomes from capital (land is not capital) by any process, short of confiscation, that has ever been devised. It will either shift its burdens or leave the country whose laws are unfavorable to its investment.

A general tax on land values cannot be shifted (all political economists from Adam Smith to Henry George are agreed on this point), because it falls equally upon idle land, held for speculative purposes, and land which is in use.

The burden upon the idle land forces it into the market to be either sold or leased, thus increasing the supply of available land in the market, and, by the universal iron law of supply and demand, forcing the rental and selling price of all land down, even as the tax is increased. This tax cannot be evaded, because neither the land nor its value can be concealed and the land cannot be removed from the jurisdiction of the taxing power. Heavy taxation will never drive landed property out of the country and will never diminish its usefulness.

Instead of being shifted to the shoulders of the tenant or to the consumers of the products of land, a tax on land values would not only relieve labor and capital of the tax burdens which they now bear, but would increase their share in distribution, by providing them with locations for homes and industries and with raw materials for their production, on better terms than those on which they can now be secured.

MAN'S NATURAL RIGHT TO THE EARTH.

My proposition to impose all taxes for public purposes upon the value of land, exclusive and irrespective of the improvements thereon, and to abolish all other forms of taxation, necessarily involves the idea that there is an essential fundamental difference between private property in land and private property in other kinds of wealth. We assert that there is such a difference, and that it is not in the power of man to obliterate it.

There is a natural right of ownership in the relation existing between everything produced by labor and the labor that produced it.

That right springs from every man's ownership of himself and of his mental and physical powers.

Owning himself, he has a natural right of ownership in the things and values that his own mental and physical powers produce, and he can manifestly, without violating any principle of natural justice, transfer his right in such things to another upon any terms which may be satisfactory to him. That is a matter with which neither society at large nor any individual can properly have any concern.

The utility which would not have existed but for the voluntary exertion of the producer should as a matter of natural justice be at all times subject to his control and to the control of those to whom he has voluntarily transferred his right.

But there is no such natural right as a basis for private property in land. No man made the land. It is the common heritage of all mankind. It was made, with all of its powers, elements, and resources, by the Creator, and freely given by Him, as an equal, common heritage, for the use, subsistence, and comfort of all mankind, in all generations, from the beginning until the end of the world.

It is, moreover, with air and sunlight, the only means provided by the Creator for the support of human life. The denial to any man of access to that natural source of subsistence is equivalent to a denial of his right to live, and any interference with such right of access must correspondingly interfere with the comfort and happiness of the man and must correspondingly subject him to privation and misery. It therefore follows that the ownership of the land by one class of men, enabling that class to fix the terms on which all others may have access to it, gives to such class unlimited power of extortion and oppression over all landless people.

It creates a dominant and a servient class among the people of every community in which such ownership exists, and makes social and political equality between those classes absolutely impossible, regardless of any nominal declaration of such equality in statutes or constitutions.

The right of eviction and exclusion from land, inhering in absolute private ownership, involves the power of life and death over the landless classes, and it consequently involves the power on the part of the landed class to extort all that the landless classes are willing to pay in order to avoid deprivation of their means of sustaining life.

Isolated cases of the merciless exercise of

the extreme power of the landed class over the landless have in recent years occurred in nearly every community in the United States, and their recurrence is becoming painfully frequent.

In many great industrial districts of this country the laboring classes and their families are tenants of their employers, by compulsion. They are therefore subject not only to dismissal from service, but to eviction from their homes upon the slightest displeasure or whim of their employers.

In Ireland, the same power which landlords hold in this country is exercised more mercilessly, as a general rule, than it is here.

In that landlord-cursed country the landlords have a sort of protective league, to which the landlords of this country are rapidly approaching, and have for several generations maintained what are known as "Rules of the Estates," under which all tenants are forbidden, on pain of eviction from their own holdings, to give food, shelter, or comfort to any evicted tenant, or to his wife or children.

The merciless exactions and oppressions of Irish landlordism have directly caused the destruction of millions of innocent lives. Alfred Russell Wallace has shown us that the persecutions of the Scotch peasantry by the landlords of Scotland have been little less rigorous and little less destructive to human life than those of the Irish landlords. In England and Wales these fearful consequences are not far behind, and they are matched in the tenement districts and in the coal and iron regions of the United States. Already (as shown by the census returns of 1890) more than two-thirds of the families residing in the cities, and one-third of the families residing in the rural districts of this country are reduced to tenantcy.

The homes of one-fourth of the remainder are mortgaged beyond redemption, and the tendency to further concentration of landholding to the distinctive landlord class is increasing year by year.

We are already a nation of landlords, tenants, and tramps. The landlords own the country and the others are dissociated from its soil, having no more stake in the country than lodgers have in their boarding houses.

It thus appears that the monopoly element in our present system of land tenure is not only in contravention of natural rights, but is absolutely destructive of the general happiness of mankind, and is wholly incompatible with the conditions of social and political equality, necessary to the perpetuation of popular government.

All economic writers, all religious teachers, all statesmen, and all thinking men in every walk of life, agree that the earth, with all of its natural resources, was originally the common heritage of all mankind.

To this point we are all agreed. Science and religion, with equal positiveness, support this conclusion.

The single-tax men assert that this common heritage is a continuing right, and is inalienable.

We hold that every child born into the world has, at once, an equal right with all other living persons in the earth and in all of its resources, regardless of any laws or contracts that may have been previously made for its partition. We hold, with Thomas Jefferson, that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living," regardless of any attempts which the dead may have made to apportion it to private owners.

We hold, with the American Declaration of Independence, that the natural rights of men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are inalienable.

We hold that no man can sell his right to the natural means provided by the Creator for the sustenance of his life, his liberty, and his happiness, any more than he can sell his life, his liberty, or his right to the pursuit of happiness; and we hold that no man and no state has ever had the power or the right to sell the interests of unborn children in the common heritage provided for them by the Creator.

We hold that the true function of government is to preserve and not to sell the natural rights of its citizens in the lands which constitute the country.

We deny that the Creator has ever given any evidence of his intention to limit his gift of the earth to any one generation of men, to be afterward made the private property of any class or of any part of succeeding generations.

We assert that the original gift of the earth by the Creator was made as truly to the whole people of the last generation that shall inhabit it as to the people of any preceding generation.

To me these propositions seem to be manifestly and necessarily true—"so true that repeating seems cant"—yet they are positively and most vehemently denied by many theologians and statesmen and philosophers.

But thought is quickening on this great question. Not all theologians deny this natural right, not all statesmen ignore it, not all philosophers deride it. Within the last ten years this question has arisen in church and state and school all over the civilized world, demanding answer or recognition. It has not been answered, and the futile attempts that have been made to that end by the ablest and brightest of modern scholars afford tolerably conclusive evidence that it cannot be answered. Recognition and enforcement of that living and inalienable natural right is, therefore, the only alternative, and it must come to pass.

> Never yet share of truth was vainly set
> In the world's wide fallow.

"The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine." This we are told in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, twenty-

third verse, is the command of the Lord to the children of men.

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.

This, we are told in the fifth chapter of Isaiah, eighth verse, is the curse of the Lord upon the monopolists of the earth. Yet land is monopolized in every civilized country by the few to-day, and the many are homeless, and the monopoly is defended from pulpits that are devoted to teaching the laws and the will of the Creator.

PRESENT TREND OF THOUGHT.

But, happily, there are indications everywhere that this paradoxical condition is not to last long. In the Roman Catholic Church, the oldest and strongest of the Christian churches, noble bishops and brave priests are here and there preaching and teaching the doctrine of man's equal and inalienable common right to the bounties of nature. Conspicuous among these is the Rev. Dr. Thomas Nulty, bishop of Meath, who in a masterly pastoral letter, basing his conclusions upon reason and revelation combined, thus declares his belief in that doctrine:

God was perfectly free in the act by which he created us, but having created us, He bound himself by that act to provide us with the means necessary for subsistence. The land is the only source of this kind now known to us. The land therefore, of every country, is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them, *terram autem dedit filiis hominum* (the land He hath given to the children of men). Now, as every individual in that country is a creature and child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the land of a country that would exclude the humblest man in that country from his share of the common inheritance, would be not only an injustice and a wrong to that man, but, moreover, be an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of his Creator.

Again, in the same pastoral letter, he says:

I think, therefore, that I may fairly infer on the strength of authority as well as of reason that the people are, and always must be, the real owners of the land of their country. This great social fact appears to me to be of incalculable importance, and it is fortunate, indeed, that on the strictest principles of justice it is not clouded even by a shadow of uncertainty or doubt. There is, moreover, a charm and a peculiar beauty in the clearness with which it reveals the wisdom and the benevolence of the designs of Providence, in the admirable provision He has made for the wants and the necessities of that state of social existence of which He is author, and in which the very instincts of nature tell us we are to spend our lives.

A vast public property, a great national fund, has been placed under the dominion and at the disposal of the nation to supply itself bountifully with resources necessary to liquidate the expenses of the Government, the administration of its laws, and the education of its youth, and to enable it to provide for the suitable sustentation and support of its criminal and pauper population. One of the most interesting peculiarities of this property is that its value is never stationary: it is constantly progressive, and increasing in a direct ratio to the growth of the population, and the very causes that increase and multiply the demands made on it increase proportionately its ability to meet them.

Six years ago Dr. Edward McGlynn, a priest of the Catholic Church, was silenced by the Archbishop of New York, and finally excommunicated from the Catholic Church, for persistently preaching and teaching the doctrine of which the amendment that I now propose is the practical assertion. But after six years of controversy he was exonerated from his excommunication and restored to his priestly office without condition or penalty, and he is now preaching and teaching the inalienable equality of human rights in the lands of the earth.

I might give other examples illustrating the trend of thought on this great economic question in the Catholic Church, but they could add nothing to the tremendous evidence of that trend of thought furnished by the vindication of Dr. McGlynn. In many of the other Christian churches illustrious bishops and ministers have publicly proclaimed their belief in the continuing equality of human rights in the Creator's bounty. In the national legislatures of England, France, and Germany, as well as of this country, its advocates are found and their number is increasing in all of the State and colonial legislatures of the United States and of England. In the legislative bodies of counties and towns, single-tax men have made their appearance and in many of them their influence has been strongly felt.

The colony of New Zealand has partially adopted the single-tax system, to the infinite advantage of its producing classes, and the new Parliament, as a result of its favorable experience, is expected to largely extend the system in that colony. In the conservative domain of philosophy, in which ten years ago Henry George was regarded and criticised as a brilliant crank, he has taken a fixed position as one of the leading economists of the world. "Progress and Poverty," has become a text-book of economic science, and the antagonist of the single-tax doctrine who has not read that book is universally regarded as insufficiently educated for the intelligent discussion of social problems and methods of taxation. Such is the status of the single-tax movement to-day. Such has been its advance during the past ten years. It has reached the halls of our National Congress by regular stages, and it is here to stay until it shall be finally settled and settled rightly.

EVILS OF LAND MONOPOLY—INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

In the course of my remarks in this House on the silver question in August last, I had occasion to present my views concerning the true cause of our regularly recurring industrial depressions. I then attempted to show that those depressions were due to the periodical absorption by the owners of land throughout the civilized world of so great a share of the results of productive effort as to render production unprofitable to labor and capital, and to cause production to cease until ground rents should fall to the economic line; thus, for another season, giving labor and capital a chance to engage in production at a living rate of wages and profit.

I attempted to show at that time that these

industrial depressions could not be due to temporary or local causes, because they existed before any of the temporary causes to which they have been variously attributed had any existence. They have always extended over the entire civilized world, while the temporary causes to which they have been attributed have always been local. They occur with a regularity that indicates a permanent and general cause, alternately compressing and relaxing our industrial and commercial system, making times good and bad by periods. Natural conditions are as favorable in the bad periods as they are in the good, indicating that industrial depressions are not due to natural causes, but have their source in conditions created by man, and existing throughout the whole period during which industrial depressions have existed, and existing in all countries to which industrial depressions have extended.

There is only one general artificial condition, at all capable of bringing about industrial depressions, that has existed in all countries to which they have extended and throughout the whole period during which the world has been afflicted with industrial depressions. That cause is the private monopoly of land, the only source from which labor and capital can produce wealth; the only foundation upon which industry and commerce can prosecute the production and exchange of wealth. This monopoly control of the natural resources and of the exclusive means of wealth production, has enabled the monopolists to absolutely control production and to exact from labor and capital everywhere a share in the distribution of the wealth which labor and capital have produced, measured and limited only by the avarice of the monopolists themselves.

With this power in the hands of the landowning class, with no limit to its exaction of ground rents and royalties from industry, save its own avarice, there is a constant temptation and tendency on the part of the owners of land to take a larger share of the results of industry and commerce than labor and capital can possibly afford to pay, thus making production and exchange unprofitable to labor aud capital and causing production and exchange to cease for the time being.

To illustrate this pressure of ground rent against production, let us suppose that a given piece of land, no matter whether it be for agriculture, or pasture, or manufactures, or commerce, has a productive capacity of 12; that the cost of capital used in the production is 4, and the cost of labor 4, leaving a margin of 4 over the cost of production.

This margin the landlord (or the community) may take, without in any way interfering with production. Taking the margin leaves the cost of production unimpaired. But suppose that the landlord, in order to make his land "pay decent interest on its value," should demand five parts, instead of four, as rent. What effect would that arbitrary increase of rent have upon labor and capital?

It would immediately make production unprofitable to them, notwithstanding the fact that the location would naturally yield a large margin over the cost of production. The landlords occupying the controlling position, capital and labor can do nothing but submit (and fight among themselves) until the landlord's exactions become unbearable, and then production ceases until either a reduction of groundrent or an increase in the natural margin of production, resulting from inventions or other causes, enables labor and capital to resume production at a profit.

The checking of production by this pressure at one point lessens the demaud for production at other points, until finally the whole network of our industrial and commercial system becomes paralyzed—involved in an "industrial depression." This is the true cause of industrial depressions.

Every check given to industry lowers its margin of production, and ground rent—which is properly the margin of production only—should fall with that margin, but it does not so fall. It rises with every tide of prosperity and it follows prosperity to its highest point, but it does not fall when prosperity ceases. It continues its exactions until labor and capital have become practically bankrupt, and then it falls only to give the victims of land monopoly another chance to provide themselves with means to pay further tribute.

The single tax, in its unlimited application, would take for public use the exact margin of production, taking a share of production small enough to leave labor and capital their full rewards, but large enough to make monopoly at all times unprofitable.

This is the true cure for industrial depressions. Some day it will be universally adopted and then these periodical blights will cease to afflict our civilization.

FORMER DEPRESSIONS.

What I have said of the course and cause of industrial depressions is equally true of this country and of every other country in which our system of land tenure prevails. They have afflicted the people of England for a longer period and more intensely than they have the people of our country. There, as well as here, the torture of these depressions to the suffering masses is intensified by the patent fact that the natural resources provided by the Creator for the satisfaction of all the wants which afflict them are lying, unused, around them in measureless profusion.

We are now in the midst of one of those crushing depressions. We have, I hope, passed its crisis. It has brought millions in this heaven-favored land to miseries and sufferings such as barbarians never know, except in years of famine, but which some fault in our existing civilization intensifies with every advance that we make in material progress. Every such depression increases the number and proportion of landless people and enormously increases the concentration

of land ownership. A million of homes will pass away from their occupants to the ownership of the landed class during this depression in this country alone. Nearly all of the other small homes in our country will pass under the fatal shadow of irredeemable mortgages, the burden of which will grow until the crisis of another depression will bring fresh foreclosure and transform their owners into tenants of the landed class.

These conditions and this tendency are not new. The depression finding its culmination about the year 1877, was most graphically described by Henry George in Progress and Poverty. How well his statement of the conditions then existing would apply to the present time! Let me read his summary:

From all parts of the civilized world come complaints of industrial depression; of labor condemned to involuntary idleness; of capital massed and wasting; of pecnniary distrust among business men; of want and suffering and anxiety among the working classes. All the dull, deadening pain, all the keen maddening anguish that to the great masses of men are involved in the words "hard times" afflict the world to-day. This state of things, common to communities differing so widely in situation, in political institutions, in fiscal and financial systems, in density of population, and in social organization, can hardly be accounted for by local causes.

There is distress where large standing armies are maintained, and there is also distress where the standing armies are nominal; there is distress where protective tariffs stnpidly and wastefnlly hamper trade, but there is also distress where trade is nearly free; there is distress where autocratic government yet prevails, but there is also distress where political power is wholly in the hands of the people; in countries where paper is money and in countries where gold and silver are the only currency. Evidently beneath all such things as these we must infer a common cause.

Again, after fully developing and reviewing the cause of industrial depressions, he says:

Whether in the present drifts of opinion and taste there are as yet any indications of retrogression it is not necessary to inquire; but there are many things about which there can be no dispute, which go to show that our civilization has reached a critical period, and that, unless a new start is made in the direction of social equality, the nineteenth century may to the fntnre mark its climax. These industrial depressions, which cause as much waste and suffering as famine or wars are like the twinges and shocks which precede paralysis. Everywhere it is evident that the tendency of inequality, which is the necessary result of material progress where land is monopolized, cannot go much further without carrying our civilization iuto that downward path which is so easy to enter and so hard to abandon.

Everywhere the increasing intensity of the struggle to live, the increasing necessity of straining every nerve to prevent being thrown down and trodden under foot in the scramble for wealth, is draining the forces which gain and maintain improvement. In every civilized country pauperism, crime, insanity, and suicides are increasing. In every civilized country the diseases are increasing which come from overstrained nerves, from insufficient nourishment, from squalid lodgings, from nnwholesome and monotonous occnpations, from the premature labor of children, from the tasks and crimes which poverty imposes upon women. In every highly civilized country the expectation of life, which gradually rose for several centnries and which seems to have culminated about the first quarter of this century, appears to be now diminishing.

Thomas Carlyle, writing of one of the industrial depressions of his time in England, said:

Descend where you will into the lower class, in town or country, by what avenue you will, by factory inquiries, by agricultural inquiries, by revenue returns, by miuing-laborer committees, by opening your own eyes and looking, the same sorrowful result discloses itself. You have to admit that the working body of this rich English nation has sunk, or is fast sinking into a state to which, all sides of it considered, there was never any parallel. . . . Two millions of laborers sit in enforced idleness, in a kind of horrid enchantment. In silence; for, alas! What word is to be said. An earth all lying around, crying, "Come and till me, come and reap me"; yet here they sit enchanted. The sun shines and the earth calls, but by the governing powers and impotences of this England they are forbidden to obey. There is something that reminds me of Dante's hell in the look of all this.

Oh, what a waste is there of noble, and thrice noble, national virtues; peasant stoicisms, heroisms, valiant, manful habits—soul of a nation's worth—which all the metal of Potosi cannot purchase back.

LABOR EXCLUDED FROM LAND.

These are the conditions to which land monopoly periodically brings the people of the civilized world. I say land monopoly without hesitation or equivocation, because, as a distinguished writer recently said in speaking of the evidences that land monopoly is the cause of industrial depressions, "It is too indisputable to be doubtful now to anyone." The evidences of its baleful influence are patent to all observers, even the most casual. They are spread around us in our homes and in our travels.

A few years ago I had occasion to travel through the beautiful and fertile region lying between San Luis Obispo and Soledad, in California. That region includes the fertile valley of Santa Marguerita, embracing some 54,000 acres of tillable soil, well watered, and rich and fertile as any land on the face of the earth. It is owned by a very excellent citizen of California, who has always used it as a cattle ranch, because that simple pastoral use involves less care and labor than any higher use to which it might be put, and yields an ample revenue for all the requirements of the proprietor, while the constant enhancement of the value of the land, with the growth of population, industry, and enterprise in California, is a source of great and gratifying enrichment to him.

It was inhabited at that time by half a dozen cattle-drivers whose only agricultural use of the land consisted in the cultivation of between five and ten acres for orchard and garden purposes for domestic use. That valley alone, if put to its highest productive use, is capable of supporting in comfort from five to ten thousand people in the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial pursuits, which its highest practical use would involve. Yet with the exception of the few cultivated acres which I have mentioned, no human hand had ever been permitted to call forth the treasures which its elements potentially contain. It lay open and uncultivated just as it came from the hand of the Creator.

In the course of the long and lonesome journey from its southern to its northern boundary, we met five immigrant wagons, each containing an American family, husband, wife, and children, some of them more than

one family, all looking for land on which to settle and build up independent American homes. Through that treasure-house of God's bounty, with weary limbs and 'aching hearts they were obliged to move on, hoping against hope that somewhere in that almost uninhabited country they would find land, free from the dominion of private monopoly, whereon to establish their homes and industries, and to rear their families in virtue and patriotism, under the protection of our Constitution and the sacred principles of freedom and equality symbolized by the flag of our country.

Yet, I venture to say that, like the fate of millions of others, their weary struggle was in vain, and that, with means exhausted and hopes blasted, they were finally obliged to seek the labor markets of the cities of California and there, in competition with the army of the unemployed, seek for a chance to divide with them the insufficient employment for which they were struggling. As I looked upon that striking example of the monopoly that our land system encourages, and the home seeking made hopeless and fruitless by that monopoly of natural resources, I thought of Duganne's poem on

"THE ACRES AND THE HANDS."

"The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof,"
Said God's most holy word.
The water hath fish and the land hath flesh,
And the air hath many a bird;
And the soil is teeming o'er all the earth,
And the earth has numberless lands;
Yet millions of hands want acres—
While millions of acres want hands.

Sunlight and breezes and gladsome flowers,
Are over the earth spread wide;
And the good God gave these gifts to men—
To men who on earth abide.
Yet thousands are toiling in poisonous gloom,
And shackled with iron bands—
While millions of hands want acres,
And millions of acres want hands.

'Tis a glaring lie on the face of day,
This robbery of men's rights!
'Tis a lie that the word of the Lord disowns,
'Tis a curse that burns and blights!
And 'twill burn and blight till the people rise
And swear, while they break their bands—
That the hands shall henceforth have acres
And the acres henceforth have hands.

I have cited the Santa Marguerita ranch case, first, because it is a striking illustration of the results of our land system; and, secondly, because the scene that I witnessed there made a strong impression upon my mind. But, in greater or less degree, the same system is producing the same results in every section of the American Union, and in every other country in the civilized world. These results are not confined to rural lands; they are more strikingly true of city lands, suited for manufactures and commerce and for residence purposes, that are held for speculative purposes, under the inducements to speculation afforded by our laws.

CONGESTION OF LABOR MARKETS.

The tendency of our present land system to drive laborers from agricultural and other rural employments into the cities, and the tendency of inventions and other improvements in the arts of wealth production to displace labor in the industrial centers, bring about a condition of constant congestion in the labor markets, and produce an intensity of competition there that forces the wages of labor always toward the lowest point at which laborers can live and work, thus increasing the power of monopoly over labor; increasing the share of production going to monopoly, and decreasing the share going to labor, regardless of the increase in the value of labor which comes with the advance of material progress. Whatever lessens the labor-cost of using land productively increases the market value and the rental of land, thus by a double process widening the gulf between the rich and the poor, and gradually making the condition of the laboring classes more hopeless and helpless as material progress advances.

The time has come when labor must be set free from the trammels and oppression of monopoly. What it needs more than all else is opportunity for the immediate redistribution of the displaced labor to productive employments. Every laborer leaving the labor market and going out upon the land would not only diminish the pressure of competition at the labor center, but would create a new center of industry, however small, calling for other labor, not only in that new productive industry, but in supplying that industry with its implements, tools, shelter, food, and clothing. Labor, after all, is the thing that creates demand for labor.

Capital is not in any true sense the employer of labor. Capital occupies an intermediate position between the laborers who want supplies and the laborers who make the supplies to satisfy the wants of the others. The wages fund theory has been absolutely and finally exploded. Capital would not employ labor in production if there were not demands coming from other producers to be satisfied. The farmer wants shoes, and the shoemaker wants bread. If the farmer should employ the shoemaker to make shoes for his family and should agree to furnish the shoemaker with bread in exchange for the shoes, no man would say that capital was employing the labor either of the farmer or the shoemaker.

So, if the farmer goes to a storekeeper to sell his wheat, taking shoes in exchange for it, while the shoemaker furnishes the storekeeper with shoes to be sold to the farmer and takes wheat in payment for his shoes, the relation between the shoemaker and the farmer is not changed. They still really employ each other, but instead of employing each other directly they do so through a middleman, who makes a profit out of both of them, yielding presumably full value to both for that profit. But the storekeeper would not employ the shoemaker to make shoes for his trade if there were not consumers of shoes ready to purchase them from him, nor would he buy wheat from the farmer if he had no customers willing to pur-

chase wheat for their immediate or ultimate consumption.

So, if the shoemaker finds a sufficient demand for shoes to justify him in starting a factory, his workmen are employed really by the people who ultimately wear the shoes that they make. He becomes a mere intermediary, and the number of workmen whom he will employ and the wages that he will pay do not depend upon the amount of capital that he has nor the amount of capital that he is willing to devote to production, but they depend entirely upon the demand for shoes among those who ultimately wear them and the ability of such persons to pay for shoes.

Labor is therefore interested, not in limiting production, but in extending it; not in narrowing the field of labor and seeking to control the so-called "wages fund," but in increasing in every possible way the opportunities of labor to engage in productive employments, and in checking the present tendency to congestion in the labor markets, by opening natural opportunities to surplus labor on better terms than they can now be had.

I have spoken of the interest of labor in opening up the natural resources of the earth, as if labor alone were concerned in it. In truth, however, all mankind have the same interest in the extension of labor's opportunities that laborers have. In the last analysis the interest of labor is the interest of all mankind, because the only possible way to elevate the superstructure of our social system is to elevate the lowest strata of its foundation. Labor is the indispensable and universal foundation of our social system. Its degradation is the degradation of the whole system, and its elevation is the elevation of all.

EFFECT OF THE SINGLE TAX ON LAND MONOPOLY.

Dr. Edward McGlynn, when asked for a brief statement, showing the purpose of the single-tax movement, wrote this reply: "To make room at the father's table for all his children." I have often thought of the true simplicity and completeness of that laconic statement. The natural resources of this earth are indeed the bountiful supplies of the father's table for all his children. The trouble that we see in the world, which is manifested by the superabundant wealth of the few and the grinding poverty of the many, is due to the fact that the father's table, with its bounteous supplies, has been seized upon by the few to the exclusion of the many; and that the many, in order to get access to the supplies which the father has provided in abundance for all, are obliged to work their lives away in paying tribute to the few who have appropriated the table and its supplies.

Under the artificial system created by the grasping of the whole bounty by a few of those for whom God intended it, many of the masses are constantly left in such a position that they cannot produce enough to pay the tribute exacted by the monopolists, and they must suffer exclusion from the table while their necessities are oppressing and crushing their lives.

Cicero very happily compared this world with its resources to a theater furnished by the Creator for the entertainment and instruction of all his children, and in which he provided a seat for every child who should come into the world. He compared the monopolists of the earth to guests at the theater, who, coming first and finding the chairs vacant, have appropriated not only the seats required for their own use, but all of the seats, and are compelling their brethren to pay tribute to them for the use of the seats that the Creator freely provided for all.

Either illustration happily fits the situation, and the purpose of the single-tax movement may be aptly said to be to compel the monopolists of the Father's table and its supplies to relinquish all but the portion which they require for use, or to compel the early guests at the theater to let go of all of the seats which they are not using. It is not intended to place any man at a disadvantage, with respect to any other man, but it is intended to absolutely and forever take away the monopoly powers of those who now hold more than their share of the Creator's bounty. It is not intended to equalize wealth among men. Wealth is the stored-up product which labor has already produced from the natural earth. The single-tax men hold and recognize private property in that form of wealth to be a sacred thing. They give to it a sacredness that the present laws do not give to it, and they have no purpose or intention of interfering with its present distribution in any way.

Much of it has been very unjustly obtained by its present possessors, but in a world-wide sense that wealth is of very little importance, because it would satisfy the wants of the people of the earth for only a few days, while the natural sources from which it was produced are the reliance of mankind, for all future ages, for sustenance and comfort. All future wealth must be produced from those sources, and its distribution among the people will depend upon the freedom or the monopoly of those sources.

OPPORTUNITIES—NOT WEALTH—SHOULD BE EQUAL.

What we seek to bring about is, not an equal distribution of wealth, but an equal distribution of the opportunities for producing wealth. An equal distribution of wealth would accomplish very little good, and the same methods which have caused the present unequal distribution would very speedily reproduce the inequality and, in the double transition, much wealth and energy would be wasted. If, on the other hand, the natural opportunities for producing wealth be opened upon equal terms to all mankind, labor will be free to produce what it needs, and thrift can be relied upon to preserve what it requires labor to produce. When the Creator placed man upon the earth he gave him the raw

materials of all wealth, freely and bountifully stored up in the earth, but he made labor the condition of their procurement, and he made labor free to procure them at will. This was nature's plan for human happiness, and it is better than any plan that human ingenuity has ever sought to substitute for it.

With natural resources free, the lowest condition of labor would be the kind of living which labor could independently produce from the earth. All laborers would have that sort of living as the lowest possible condition to which they could be reduced. Then the ingenuity and inventiveness of man would be brought into natural play in combining and subdividing labor, so as to increase the wealth-producing power of labor, and to their great enterprises, either individual or co-operative, labor would be drawn by the offer of better terms and conditions than it could secure by independent self-employment.

It would be no longer driven into these great enterprises by the pressure or the fear of want, nor would it ever be compelled to accept the wages of slavery because of the presence of slaves competing for employment in the market. With the means of independent self-employment open to labor, employers, in order to get labor, would be obliged to offer not merely the same returns that the independent employment would afford, but such superior advantages, both in wages and conditions, as would induce the self-employing laborer to give up his personal independence so far as to take employment from another man.

Then every inventor and every captain of industry would become, as they should be real benefactors of mankind, whose skill and enterprise would tend to lighten the burdens and increase the comforts of mankind. Then production would be free and trade would be free. No man would have any share in the distribution of wealth who did not share in its production; then no man would sit as a toll-gatherer at the gate of another's industry, but each would take in distribution exactly according to his share in production.

The individual laborer would get a share exactly corresponding to his contribution to production. Capital would get the share necessary to replenish it, and to yield the value of its use, measured by the demand for capital.

The margin of production, which is now the share of the non-producer, would go to the entire community for the general benefit of all. This would be just, because the margin of production results in all cases from the presence, enterprise, and virtues of the whole community, except in so far as it represents the value of great natural deposits, such as coal, iron, gold, silver, copper, lead; petroleum, quicksilver, and the like under the earth, and forests over the earth, and these deposits and the forests were prepared and stored by the Creator for the general common use of all mankind. It is right that their value should be given to the whole people whenever private individuals extract them from the earth. That value, of course, will largely but not wholly depend upon the same elements that make up the margin of production in other cases, namely, the presence, industry, enterprise, and virtues of the whole people.

It is the purpose under the single-tax system to appropriate to public use the entire margin of production of all lands, and thus to cut off the unearned increment, to secure which land is now monopolized. By the "unearned increment" I mean that value which in every growing community attaches to land and increases with the growth of the community, whether the land be used or not used, and which now goes to enrich the private owners of land, although it is produced not by them, but by the whole community from year to year. The market value of land represents in capitalized form these two elements: First, the present rental value of land, and, secondly, the prospective future enhancement of that rental value.

By taking for public use the entire present rental value of all land, whether used or unused, with the declared purpose of taking for all time in the future for public uses all of that rental value as fast as it shall accrue, no inducement would be left for speculation in land. On the contrary, the ownership of idle land would become a burden and expense which no sensible man would assume or bear. Such land would be either improved for use at once or it would be abandoned, so that any man who might desire to use it would be free to do so without any first charge whatever, and subject only to the payment from year to year of its economic rental value, as such economic rental value might arise. The owners of improved lands would continue to lease them, paying over to the people in the form of taxes the entire rental value of the ground and retaining to themselves that portion of the rent representing the improvements; the improvements and the income derived from them being free from all burdens of taxation.

TAXES ON LAND VALUES CANNOT BE SHIFTED.

The single-tax system being a substitute for all other forms of taxation, direct and indirect, would relieve from taxation all improvements upon land and all personal property of every kind; it would do away with all poll taxes and all license taxes for the conduct of business, and would do away with all taxes on commerce, on goods, and on the consumption of wealth. Such taxes can always be shifted, and are always shifted, in the course of exchange from the person paying to the consumer, upon whom they are finally saddled.

Whatever tax or burden of any kind is imposed upon any form of wealth produced by labor or upon the income therefrom is shifted to the borrower or user. Now, it is argued by analogy that the single tax on land values will also be shifted from the owner to the

user of land, and that groundrents will increase in proportion to the tax burden imposed upon land values. Hence it is said that except in so far as the single-tax system will simplify and cheapen the assessment and collection of taxes it will afford no benefit to the landless classes, because what they will gain by exemptions from taxes on their personal property and upon their consumption they will lose by the increase of groundrents.

If this were true it would be a very serious objection to the single-tax system, and would entirely destroy the most important economic advantages which we expect to flow from it. But it is not true, and there is no analogy between the effects of taxation upon land values and the effects of taxation falling upon wealth produced by labor. The reason that taxes laid upon production, or upon wealth produced by labor, can always be shifted is that such a tax burdens production and constitutes one of the expenses of production, which must be paid out of the price charged for the product, or production of that commodity will be checked. With the checking of production the supply of the commodity will be limited in the market, and by the operation of the law of supply and demand the supply being diminished, the price will increase until it covers the tax.

If land were produced by human labor the heavy taxation of land values would tend to discourage the production of land until the price of land would rise sufficiently to cover the tax ; but no man is engaged in producing land. It is a natural product, and its natural supply remains unchanged, regardless of the taxes levied upon it. But taxation has a direct effect upon the available supply of land in the market. The heavy taxation of land values forces land into the market at whatever prices can be obtained for it, thus increasing the available supply to purchasers and renters and, by the same law of supply and demand, reducing the rent and the selling price instead of increasing them.

Another effect of the single tax would be the exemption of houses from taxation, and this exemption would tend to encourage men to invest their capital in the building of houses, thus tending to increase the supply of houses and to further decrease the renting price by increasing the competition for tenants among the owners of houses. To illustrate both of these propositions, I need only refer to the vacant lots held idle for speculative purposes in the thickly settled portions of all great cities. The owners can now afford to pay taxes upon these idle lots, because their average annual increase in value is very much greater than the amount of taxes paid.

It is therefore a profitable speculation to pay the taxes on such lots and keep them out of use. Besides, if the owners of the lots should build houses on them now, the people would compel them to pay a penalty of about 2 per cent. per annum upon the value of the houses, whether in use or idle, thus making the investment in such improvements less profitable, considering the risk of fire and other dangers, than an investment in land or in untaxed Government bonds. But suppose that the buildings to be erected on such lots should be untaxed, then at once an investment in such buildings, all other conditions remaining the same, would be 2 per cent. more profitable than it is at present, and capital would be attracted to building. The great importance of that exemption of 2 per cent. appears in the fact that net interest is only 2½ per cent.

Let us suppose that the owner of one of these lots, who now pays a tax of $1000 per annum, should be compelled to pay to the public something near the annual rental value of the lot—say about $4000 per annum, and that he would pay no more taxes if he had a building like that of the Washington Loan and Trust Company upon it—how long do you suppose he would keep the land idle and pay a tax upon it equal to its entire rental value ? It would, of course, be as good for use as it is at present, but it would not be as good an investment for speculation as it is at present.

The increased burden of taxation upon the monopoly privilege of holding the lot would make it absolutely necessary to use the lot in such manner as to make it yield the amount of the tax, or to improve and lease it in order that the owner might be saved from the irreparable loss that would be involved in paying taxes upon it while holding it in idleness. Improvement and use would save him from burden, but the prospective increase of values would not enable him as now to reap a golden harvest by keeping it in idleness.

It is needless to multiply examples, for the effect which the single tax would have upon the particular lot in the case supposed, it would have upon all land—rural and urban—which is now subject to private ownership. Now, if the taxation of land values only would have a tendency, as I have shown, to encourage and to compel the erection of houses upon all vacant lots in cities, and the productive use of rural lands, thus vastly increasing the available supply of houses and holdings for sale and to let, does it not follow, with the clearness of demonstration, that the resulting competition among landlords to secure tenants and purchasers would compel them to reduce instead of increasing their rents and their prices ?

How, then, can they shift the taxes upon their tenants ? It would be utterly impossible for them to do so. Land rent is fixed by a law entirely independent of taxation. It is fixed by the value of the land for use, and no amount of taxation can increase that value. If you should build two stores exactly alike in all their appointments, one at Arlington and the other on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, you could get one hundred times as much rent for the latter as you could get for the former, not because of the difference in taxes upon the respective places, but because

of the superior commercial advantages of the latter location.

To impose the same tax on the Arlington store that would fall on the Pennsylvania Avenue store would not improve the value of the Arlington store for use. It would not in the least tend to equalize the commercial advantages of the two locations, and the rent of the Arlington store could not be increased to cover the tax. So with rural lands. The tax could not be added either to the rent or to the product, for substantially the same reasons that I have already given in discussing its effects upon urban lands. But it is not necessary to discuss this phase of the question at greater length. All political economists, from Adam Smith to Henry George, are agreed that taxes laid upon land values cannot be shifted.

Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations (book 5, chapter 2, part 2, article 1), says:

> A tax upon groundrents would not raise the rents of houses: it would fall altogether upon the owner of the land, who acts always as a monopolist and exacts the greatest rent which can be got for the use of his ground. . . .
>
> Whether the tax was to be advanced by the inhabitant or the owner of the ground would be of little importance. The more the inhabitant was obliged to pay for the tax the less he would incline to pay for the ground, so that the final payment of the tax would fall altogether upon the owner of the groundrent.

J. B. Say, the great French economist, in his work on Political Economy (volume 2, book 3, chapter 8, section 2), says:

> An acre of vineyard or corn land will only produce a given quantity of grain or wine, whatever be the rates of taxation, which may take the one-half or three-quarters of the net produce, or rent as it is called, and yet the land be tilled for the remaining one-half or one-quarter. The rent, that is to say the portion assigned to the proprietor, will be reduced, and that is all. The reason will be manifest to anyone who considers that in the case supposed, the land continues to raise and supply the market with the same amount of produce as before; while, on the other hand, the motives in which the demand originated remain just as they were.
>
> If, then, the intensity of supply and demand must both remain the same in spite of any increase or diminution of the ratio of direct taxation upon the land, the price of the product supplies will likewise remain unchanged, and nothing but a change of price can saddle the consumer with any portion whatsoever of that taxation.

John Stuart Mill, in his Principles of Economy (book 5, chapter 3, section 2), states his conclusion on this subject in the following language:

> A tax on rent falls wholly on the landlord. There are no means by which he can shift the burden upon anyone else. It does not affect the value or price of agricultural produce, for this is determined by the cost of production in the most unfavorable circumstances, and in those circumstances, as we have so often demonstrated, no rent is paid. A tax on rent, therefore, has no effect, other than its obvious one. It merely takes so much from the landlord and transfers it to the state.

It thus appears, I think conclusively, that a tax upon the value of land falls always directly and finally upon the owner, and that with the exception of poll taxes, it is the only tax which cannot be shifted to the shoulders of the poor.

Having shown that the single tax would equalize the natural opportunities of all men, by giving them access on equal terms to nature's storehouse of material resources, and having shown that the single tax upon land values would fall and finally rest upon the owner of the land, it becomes highly important to inquire if such a tax would be just. If it would not be just I do not hesitate to say that it would not be expedient.

> Never yet did men or nations prosper finally in wrong.

If it cannot be satisfactorily shown that it would be just, the proposed reform should be unhesitatingly and perpetually rejected. It is to be sincerely hoped that no scheme of social or political reformation shall ever find lodgment in the hearts or institutions of the American people which is not firmly based upon the eternal and immutable principles of justice. To this high test we submit our theory,

> And poise the cause in justice' equal scales,
> Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails.

I shall not here repeat the argument which I made to show that of natural right the earth is, and ever has been, and must ever remain, the equal common heritage of all mankind; but proceeding from that premise, I will deal with the only other serious question which the controversy involves, namely, what regard are we morally bound to have for rights, contrary to natural justice, that have become vested under the sanction of our laws? It may well be that no human law can ever justly give any sort of title or vested right as against an inalienable natural right. But I shall not rest upon that position.

Prof. Sturtevant, in his excellent work on Economics, justifies the expulsion of the Indians from the lands of North America upon the following grounds:

> We cannot admit in the first place that these savages ever did own the soil. They never did that which alone creates ownership. They never made any modification of the land by labor expended on it which fitted to be an instrument of production. They roamed over it like herds of buffalo, and lived on spontaneous products just as the wild beasts did. But by so doing neither the buffalo nor the savage acquired ownership, the latter no more than the former. He who gathers blackberries or shoots deer upon a piece of ground does not thereby become the owner of it.
>
> No one owns a tree of the forest because on a single year or for many successive years, he gathered the nuts that grew on it. The European settlers of North America took possession of no capabilities of production which the labor of those savage tribes had created. As those savages retired before them they had exactly the same labor to perform which they would have had if there had never been any human inhabitants on the continent before them. In this respect the case was exactly the same that it would have been if wild beasts and not men had retired before them. What they took possession of everywhere was the work of the Creator and not the work of man.

Herbert Spencer, in Social Statics (chapter 9), says:

> It may by and by be perceived that equity utters dic-

tates to which we have not yet listened, and men may then learn that to deprive others of their right to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedncss to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.

John Stuart Mill, in his Political Economy (book 2, chapter 2), declares that land considered apart from improvements

never was and never can be a proper subject of private ownership. . . When the sacredness of property is talked of it should always be remembered that such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust.

Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England (book 2, chapter 1), says :

The earth is the general property of all mankind from the immediate gift of the Creator. . . Thus the ground was in common, and no part of it was the permanent property of any man in particnlar. . . Thus, also, a vine or other tree might be said to be in common, as all men were equally entitled to its produce ; and yet any private individual might gain the sole property of the fruit which he has gathered for his own repast. . . Accurately and strictly speaking, there is no fonndation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land. . . It is well if the masses of mankind will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too niccly into the reasons for making them.

Hon. William E. Gladstone, speaking of proposed restrictions on the vested rights of the landowners, says :

Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space are not altogcther in the same position as the possessors of mere personalty. Personalty does not impose limitations on the action and the industry of man, and on the well-being of the community, as possession of land does, and therefore I freely own that compulsory expropriation is admissible and even sound in principle.

James Anthony Froude, on the same subject, says :

Land is not, and cannot be, property in the sense that movable things are property. Every human being born into this planet must live upon the land, if he live at all. The land in any couutry is really the property of the nation which occupies it.

Prof. Newman, on the same subject, says :

To make away into mercenary hands, as an article of trade, the whole solid area on which a nation lives, is astonishing as an idea of statesmanship.

Alfred Russell Wallace, the great English scientist, says :

So long as a man can be evicted and banished from the local community at the will of the landlord there can be no independence and no possible freedom of self-government worthy of the name. . . . By recognizing private property in land, the State has set np in its midst a number of petty lords more powerfnl than any government, and whose decrees, whatever injustice they may do or whatever misery bring to British subjects, no court of law or equity is able to reverse.

Hon. William Brodrick, M. P., speaking of English landlordism, says :

The landlord of the parish, or district, is invested with an authority over its inhabitants which neither the Saxon chief nor the Norman lord in the fullness of his power ever had the right of exercising ; for the meaus of living, and the very right of the people to life itself, are equally nnder the control of those who are the exclusive owners of the land, which the Creator freely gave for the equal use and sustenance of all and without which no human being can possibly live.

Replying to the suggestion that any attempt to regulate ground rents, or to limit the conditions of tenancy as fixed by the landlords, would be an invasion of their vested rights, Mr. Brodrick said :

No man can have a vested right in the misfortunes and woes of his country.

No man has ever presented any basis or justification for the same exclusive private property in land that men have and of natural right ought to have in the products of labor.

No statesman, lawyer, philosopher, or theologian has ever presented any argument worthy of the name in justification of such absolute private ownership. It is contrary to natural justice ; it is contrary to the condition on which the earth was given to man by the Creator ; it is destructive to the last degree of justice and equal rights among men, and it is destructive of the liberties and happiness of the great masses of the people ; reducing them, as it has done, to a condition of industrial slavery which keeps them continually face to face with the menace of pauperism, regardless of their ability and willingness to live by labor upon the conditions fixed by the Creator.

No attempt has ever been made to justify the exclusive private ownership of unused and unimproved land. Every defense of the private ownership of land is based upon the moral right resulting from its improvement and its actual use. The assertion of a vested right in land upon which no improvements have been made has no moral support of any kind which its defenders have ever been able to suggest. It is asserted that private property in land was established for the purpose of encouraging the permanent improvement of land and the care and productive use of land by the occupant, and that it is well adapted and essential to those purposes.

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN LAND.

These elements of private property in land we concede to be essential to the permanent improvement, care, and use of land, and therefore essential to the well-being and stability of human society, namely, permanency of tenure, security of improvements, and security in the full fruits of whatever productive effort is applied to the land or exerted upon the land. All of these elements are fully secured under the single-tax system, and would thereby be more perfectly secured than under the present system. The other element that now attaches to private property in land is the right of the private owner to appropriate to his own use the unearned increment which results to the land from the presence, industry, and enterprise of the population of the district in which it is situated.

This element, the only one against which the single-tax system is aimed, does not en-

courage the owner to improve or care for or use the land productively; it encourages him to abandon all industrial pursuits and to endeavor to live upon the toll which his mere ownership enables him to levy upon those who use his land productively; and it encourages men to seek wealth and power, not by producing wealth, but by securing a monopoly control of the sources of wealth production and by taking advantage of the ever-increasing value which the growth of population gives to the land of which they secure control.

The only valid purpose of private property in land from the standpoint of public utility is therefore not accomplished by it. That purpose is actually subverted by it. That being true the violation of the natural rights of mankind involved in the establishment of individual private ownership of land has not the slightest foundation of social utility or expediency to sustain it.

Again, the rental value of land is, as I have shown, the result of the presence, industry, and enterprise of the whole people of each community in which it appears. It is produced as an indirect result of the general enterprise and industry of the community.

The community has, therefore, a moral right to appropriate it to public use, because the community has produced it. The universally recognized law of private property has its foundation in each man's ownership of himself. Every man is of natural right the owner of himself and of his mental and physical powers. As a consequence of that ownership of himself, he has a natural right of ownership in everything that he produces by the voluntary exercise of those mental and physical powers. The things that he produces are his, because he has produced them; because their forms of utility would not have existed but for his productive effort, and it is no hardship to any other man in the world to be deprived of that which would not have existed at all but for the labor of him who produced it.

If the labor of a dozen men indistinguishably contributes to the production of anything of value it belongs, by the same law, not to any one of them, but to the whole dozen. So, if a value be produced by the indistinguishable labor of a community of one hundred thousand or a million people it belongs, by the same law of natural right, to all, and not to any individual, or to any number less than the whole. Therefore the rental value of land belongs to the community which produces and maintains it by the same natural right which gives to each individual man the wealth which his labor entirely produces.

NO QUESTION OF VESTED RIGHTS.

But it is said that under the sanction of our laws men have invested their wealth in the ownership of land for the purpose of securing, as their return, this unearned increment which the community creates, and that it would, therefore, be unjust to deprive them of that unearned increment, or the margin of production, by any new law operating either directly or indirectly to that end. The complete answer to that proposition is that every foot of land now in private ownership was acquired by private owners, subject to the acknowledged and well-known reserved rights and power of the people, through their several governments, to take its rental value, or any part or portion of its rental value, that to them might seem expedient, by taxation, for public uses at any time.

The speculator in land has always invested, and now invests his money in land upon the assumption that the people will not deem it expedient to exercise that reserved right until he shall have made his expected profit out of his investment. If the people shall in the meantime choose to exercise that reserved right, the exercise of which is absolutely and solely in the discretion of the people, his speculation fails, simply and solely because he has miscalculated the purpose or future action of the people with respect to the enforcement of their acknowledged right.

There is really no question, in this proposed reform, concerning vested rights; because no man has, or ever had, any vested right to have his lands exempted from taxation, nor to have any limit set to the percentage of its value which may be collected for public uses. His right is simply that he shall be treated like all other landowners in the same taxation district. In view of this reserved right of the people at any time to practically nationalize the lands of this country, by the exercise of the power of taxation, it may be truly said that the lands of this country under the statute laws, as well as by natural right, have always been the common property, as well as the common heritage, of the whole people.

COMPARISON OF HARDSHIPS.

It is asserted that the complete establishment of the single tax would work a great hardship to several thousands of well-meaning people, who have, in good faith, invested their means in landed property, in order to secure an income sufficient to maintain themselves and families in such comfort as would result from the investment of the same means in productive enterprises, and that they would be placed at an unfair disadvantage with respect to those who have invested the same means, for the same purpose, in such productive enterprises.

No great social transition, from a condition of injustice to a condition of justice, can be made without imposing hardship, and often unmerited hardship, on those who, in accommodating themselves to the unjust condition, have become its beneficiaries. But the hardship that would result from this proposed transition is absolutely unworthy of consideration when compared with the infinite hardship which the great continuing wrong of land monopoly inflicts upon the great masses of the people who are now deprived of the independent means of subsistence for which the Creator made and gave the land.

The suffering caused by the present land system in a single hour will outweigh a hundred fold all the hardships that would ever result from the proposed change to all the people who would be affected by it.

NO ACCRUED VALUE.

Another claim which, although unsound, is deserving of serious notice, principally because it once received the solemn sanction of so great and wise and just a man as John Stuart Mill, namely, that while the people are unquestionably entitled to all future enhancement of the rental value of land, the private owners are entitled to appropriate at present and for the future the accrued rental value; that is to say, that private owners should be allowed for all time to take for their private use a portion of the rental value of their lands equal to the full rental value of those lands at the time that the people determine to take the accruing increment for public use.

But this position has since been demonstrated to be utterly without foundation. There is no such thing as an accrued rental value attaching to land, save and except that which has been already collected or is already due to the present owner, and of that we propose to take no accounting. But the future rental value of land all over the United States will result not from what the people have done in the past, but entirely from what the people shall hereafter do. If the people of the United States should withdraw from its lands entirely, without any probability of returning, and there being no probability of other people coming to inhabit the country, rental values and market values of land would disappear with the people, and the lands would be as worthless to the landlords in 1895 as they were in 1495.

So, if the people remaining here should entirely abandon all productive industries and become as shiftless and industrially worthless as the Indians who preceded them, the value of all land in this country would fall to nothing. If land is to have value in any community in the United States hereafter, that value must result from the future industry and enterprise of the people, and not from what they have done in the past. Of course, improvements upon land and present facilities for its use have their influence in connection with the presence of population in making and maintaining present and future land values. But without the presence, industry, and enterprise of the people, land values must absolutely perish, regardless of all that has been done heretofore.

The people's right to appropriate the rental value of lands to public uses, therefore, extends to the whole rental value of the bare ground, and public expediency requires that it shall all be taken, to the end that the natural opportunities of the whole people may be preserved in absolute equality, and that the monopoly of these resources may not be encouraged by allowing any part of the unearned increment of land to reward private speculators for such monopoly.

IS THE SINGLE TAX EXPEDIENT?

I have already stated that certain elements of the present system of private property in land are essential to the substantial and permanent improvement of land, for the best uses to which it can be put, and for the highest development of the means and arts of wealth production. These elements are permanency of tenure, security of improvements, and security to the occupant in the fruits of his productive labor. All of these elements are perfectly secured and sacredly guarded under the single-tax system. We propose no change in the present forms of private ownership of land.

We simply divert the margin of production—that is to say, the excess which production yields, at any given place, over the cost of production—from the private individuals who now appropriate it, without consideration, to the use and benefit of the whole people, who do produce it. It is said that this will discourage extensive improvement of land for its highest productive use. Fortunately we are able to demonstrate that it will not have such an effect. In the heart of the city of Chicago there are two blocks of land, owned by the city, and used by private individuals, who have erected their own improvements upon the land. They pay into the city treasury of Chicago the full rental value of the ground, just as they would pay it under the single-tax system.

Some of the private buildings on that land are among the finest in the city of Chicago: One of them is "The Rookery," an eleven-story office building, built of steel, granite, and pressed brick, at an expense of about $2,000,000; another is McVicker's Theater, well known to most people who have visited Chicago; another is the *Tribune* building, the other buildings on the blocks in question, while not so fine as those that I have mentioned, yet compare favorably with other buildings of the same age in Chicago or in any other city. No difficulty is experienced. The tenure of the private occupants has no limit, and the sole condition of tenure is the payment of the rental value of the ground to the city, that rental value being ascertained and fixed by methods not unlike those which would be adopted for the assessment of the single tax.

If the single-tax system were in operation, however, the city and State taxes now falling upon the Rookery building and upon all of the furniture and fixtures and stock contained in its offices and stores would be remitted, and other occupants of lands of like character would be encouraged to improve the city and increase the business facilities and accommodations of its inhabitants by constructing similar buildings, which with their fixtures, furniture, goods, and business, would be free from all tax burdens.

It is said that the single tax would fall with undue severity upon the farmers of this country, because, in proportion to the value and returns of their industries, they occupy more land than other producers. If it were true that the single tax would seriously burden the farmers, who are already overburdened by direct and indirect taxation beyond endurance, it would be a serious objection to our proposition. But it must be borne in mind that the single tax is not a tax on land, according to area, but is a tax on land values, and therefore it would not be paid by the owners of the land in proportion to the area occupied or cultivated by them, but in proportion to the market value or rental value of their respective holdings.

A few days ago a lot of land was sold in the City of New York at the rate of $5,000,000 per acre, and it is said that in New York and also in Chicago there is land which is held in the market at the rate of $10,000,000 per acre. A few years ago a lot of land was sold in London at a rate which per acre would bring over $14,000,000. These are the great centers of commerce and industry, and land values are highest at these points, growing gradually less as the rural districts are approached, and finally in locations isolated from the centers of trade, shading to almost nothing.

Just as the rental value falls as you approach the rural districts, so will the single tax become light as you approach the farming districts, where land values are smallest. One acre of the land sold as I have stated, in the city of New York, would pay as much taxes, under the single tax system, as 1,000 farms of 100 acres each, worth on the average $50 per acre. The proportion of taxes now paid by farmers upon their lands and improvements and personal property and indirect taxes upon their clothing, farming utensils, etc., is very much greater, with respect to city property, than it would be under the single-tax system.

Under the present system the speculators in unimproved farm lands get the benefit of all that the working farmers do to build up the neighborhoods in which their lands lie, yet contribute nothing in personal service, and comparatively nothing in taxes, to either the public or private enterprises that build up the value of their lands. Under the single tax system the settlement of land would proceed by regular stages from the centers of industry and commerce. Every tract of land would have an improving and occupying owner, bearing his share of all common burdens and contributing to all public enterprises for the improvement of roads and the betterment of social and industrial conditions.

These and innumerable other advantages would come naturally to all farmers. But the census returns show that more than one-third of the farmers of the United States are now tenants, and that the transformation from occupying owners to tenant farmers is going on more rapidly than ever before in the history of the country. Surely they have nothing to fear from a system that would bring to them the advantages of which I have spoken and which would place the entire burden of taxation upon the margin of production which they now pay as rent to private owners.

Again, farm laborers are not to be overlooked in considering the effect of the proposed reform upon the interests of our farming population. To the farm laborers the single tax would open up unlimited opportunities for securing homes and farms, and for the independent prosecution of the industry in which they are now engaged in menial capacities. It would be a boon to them greater than any that has been offered to their class in the whole history of the world. The whole system of farm labor would be changed immediately. The farm laborers would become occupying owners on a small scale. They would work for the larger farmers at such times as their labor might be required, and instead of wasting their minds and energies during periods of idleness, as they do under the present system, they would devote such periods to the cultivation and improvement of their little farms and homes.

All groundrent in country and city would fall to the economic line and remain at the economic line, leaving to labor and capital always the full share of production necessary to make it profitable to those active factors. Production and exchange would go on uninterruptedly. Periods of industrial depression would pass into history and would cease to afflict mankind. The distinctions between dominant and servient classes, that are now so alarmingly growing in this country in spite of our theoretical political equality, would disappear like the shadow of a distempered dream, and a great commonwealth of free and independent American citizens would spring up, filled with a new sense of individual liberty; rooted to the soil of our country, and correspondingly devoted to our institutions; supporting and sharing her educational institutions; burning with the same high spirit of patriotism with which the independence of their homes inspired the yeomanry that were once the glory and the pride of England; their lives, their property, their sacred honor, at all times religiously pledged to the institutions of our country and to our country's flag, which would then most truly be the emblem of liberty, equality, justice; of independence in home and industry secured to all beneath its folds.

ALL CITIZENS SHOULD OWN LAND.

The decline of patriotism in recent years has been deplored, and it is deplorable, but it has a cause. Men love the institutions to which they are attached and of which they are substantially and efficiently a part; they love the country which secures to them liberty, equality, and justice, and independence in home and in industry. Just in proportion as

the people are rooted to the soil, are free to engage in productive labor for the satisfaction of their wants, and are secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, their patriotism increases, even to intensity ; and just in proportion to their severance from the soil, to the closing of natural opportunities against them, and to the power of classes to despoil them of the fruits of their labor, do they become unpatriotic and cease to sympathize with the institutions of the country which make them tenants in their home lives and slaves in their industries.

What constitutes this country ? What is it that makes up the country that we call ours ? Is it not the natural resources, the fruitful lands, the mineral deposits, the stores of coal and petroleum, the forests, and all the raw materials provided by nature for development, by labor, into forms of utility ? These constitute our country, and the owners of those resources are the owners of our country. They are the dominant class, and all others are here but by their sufference on the terms fixed by their arbitrary will, yielding tribute to them, as owners of our country, for the privilege of dwelling and laboring within its borders.

The power of eviction carries with it all lesser power of control. The monopoly of the earth upon which we live and from which we must draw our subsistence gives a power to the monopolists over the landless involving life and death. There can be no such thing as political or social equality between the landed and the landless classes. The landless class must ever be the industrial slaves of those who own the natural resources, and they can be freed only by the destruction of land monopoly. The multiplication of landowners will never improve the condition of the landless class, because it simply increases the number of petty tyrants whom the landless classes must support, as the price of their privilege of using the land.

The small landlord whose groundrent affords him a bare living is the most exacting and merciless of all landlords. This has been the experience of Ireland and of all Europe, and it is an experience with which the people of America are becoming rapidly and sadly familiar. To re-establish the political and social equality necessary to the perpetuation of our form of government we must extend land ownership to all. All citizens must be equal owners of the country and of all its natural resources. Then, and never until then, can the poor man say in truth, "This is my country." This condition the single tax, when carried into full operation, will accomplish. This condition the single tax will forever maintain.

NATURE'S PROVISION FOR PUBLIC REVENUE.

It seems to me that the single tax is nature's own provision for the revenues required by the social organizations which spring from the natural gregariousness of men. It is God's fore-ordained revenue system.

Heretofore there has been no scientific system of taxation in the civilized world, because taxation has always been regarded as an arbitrary method of meeting the needs of purely arbitrary and artificial human organizations. Taxation has had no scientific basis because society has not been recognized as the outgrowth of natural laws, but as the mere creature of human contract, to which men were driven, not by any natural law of association, but by the wants and fears which they experienced in isolation.

Human association being regarded as purely arbitrary, it has not occurred to the statesman that there could be any natural provision for the payment of its necessary expenses ; and so arbitrary methods of meeting those expenses have been constantly resorted to. They have never given satisfaction, and they have been changed with every recurring opportunity for legislation from the establishment of human governments to the present time. They have been repeatedly changed, but one arbitrary system has always been substituted for another, and they have all failed, equally, to give satisfaction.

The single-tax system has a scientific basis. It rests upon the idea that the Creator has made mankind gregarious ; that men come together in societies in obedience to that natural law of gregariousness ; that the organization of men in societies and communities gives rise to the necessity of public revenue for general common uses, and that the unearned increment of the land upon which each community is established, which grows with the growth of population, and as the result of the presence, industry, and enterprise of the whole people ; attaching to the locality on which the community is established; growing in exact proportion to the growth of the community's need for public revenue ; growing by virtue of and as the immediate effect of the same laws which produced the necessity for public revenue, is nature's own provision for meeting the requirements of the community for such revenue.

This is in exact accordance with what we know of the universal correlation of natural laws throughout the entire universe. The law of natural compensations is so universal that scientists have unhesitatingly asserted that wherever a want is created by the operation of natural laws the means of satisfying that want are produced by the operation of the same laws. So universal is that law that wherever a poisonous serpent crawls we are told that a plant grows near which is an antidote for the poison of his bite ; that wherever the nettle grows, the nettle weed is at hand to deaden its sting.

To the student of nature, therefore, it is only necessary to show that human society is formed in accordance with a natural law of gregariousness, and that the necessity for public revenue arises out of such gregariousness, and the immediate conclusion with him follows that the operation of the same natural law must have produced a means of satisfying

that want which, if resorted to, will not impose any burden upon individual men. We find the facts to correspond with the law, thus declared as the result of universal experience in the study of nature.

I remember when the first settlers went into the rich and fertile valley of the Salinas River in California. The land was public and open to settlement. The first settlers naturally sought out the richest and most fertile soil. It had no market value then, because equally good land was lying all around open to settlement. Soon the community numbered twenty to thirty families. Then came a general merchandise store to furnish them with their groceries, clothing, farming utensils, and the like. The storekeeper became the purchaser of the farm products and arranged for their shipment to the consuming markets. The farmers hauled their products to the store and returned with their supplies.

This made the store their common trading center. It was located on ground far less productive, from an agricultural standpoint, than the average land in the valley, but it was better situated as a trading point, because it lay in a direct line between the farming land and the landing place of the vessels plying between that section of country and the metropolis of San Francisco. When the blacksmith came to establish his shop he naturally located at this trading point as the place most convenient to his customers and most advantageous to his business. Then a common school was established by general consent at the trading center.

At this point in the development of the community, the necessity arose for a small amount of public revenue, for the building of a schoolhouse, the payment of the school teacher, and the graveling of the roadway constituting the main street of the village, over which the wagons of the entire community were regularly driven at least once a week. But with the experience of that need for public revenue, there came, as a result of the presence of that small population, a general desire for land situated near the trading center, and such land was worth a small premium over equally good land situated at a greater distance from the center. The population of the community grew. Its need for public revenue grew with its growth, and the value of the land, radiating from the center, grew in exact proportion to the increased demand for public revenue.

The appropriation of that land value to public use would have harmed no man, because the growth of the community made it worth the premium to any man who might use it. If it had been taken for public use, no tax of any kind need ever have been imposed upon the industries of the people for the purpose of meeting the requirements for public revenue. It was not taken for public use. Private owners appropriated it, as an unearned increment, and were thereby enriched at the expense of the community, which produced that increment, but failed to apply it to the public use.

What I observed in the growth of the town is exactly true of every other city, town, hamlet, and school district in the land. The city of San Francisco, with its 325,000 inhabitants, has a greater need of public revenue than has the town of Castroville, but that greater need of revenue is exactly proportionate to its greater population. With the coming of the greater population of San Francisco, the rental value of the land of the peninsula of San Francisco has increased in exact proportion to the increase of its need for public revenue.

New York has a greater population, and a correspondingly greater need of public revenue, than San Francisco; but the rental value of its land is correspondingly greater than the rental value of the land of San Francisco. London has a greater and denser population than New York. Its need for public revenue is correspondingly greater than that of New York, but its land value has kept pace with its need for public revenue, and bears the same proportion to it that the rental value of the land of Castroville bears to the needs of Castroville for public revenue.

The land values of San Francisco, of New York, and of London have risen as the result of the presence, industry, and enterprise of the whole people of each of those communities. Its appropriation to public use would at all times have satisfied all the needs of those cities for public revenue, while its appropriation by private monopolists, as an unearned increment, has not only imposed great tax burdens upon the people who produced the land values, but has also resulted in the encouragement of land speculation, the closing of the natural opportunities and resources against industry and commerce, and in making labor and capital tributary to a non-producing class.

We assert that the appropriation of land values to public use is the natural system of taxation—the natural means provided by the Creator for the satisfaction of social wants; that the right to appropriate the rental value of all lands to public use has been reserved by the people against every foot of land that has ever gone into private ownership; that it is not only just that it should be appropriated to public use, but that the failure to appropriate it is an injustice to every citizen who by reason of its private appropriation is compelled to bear the burden of any other form of taxation for the support of the government, and that it is an injustice to every citizen who by reason of the land monopoly that the private appropriation of this unearned increment of land encourages, is limited in his natural opportunities to establish an independent home or an independent industry.

SUMMARY.

The amendment which I have offered strikes out all of the sections of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMillin], which provide for the levy and collection of a tax on incomes, and proposes to raise an equivalent amount of revenue by a

direct tax on the value of land in the United States, apportioned to the States and Territories in proportion to their population.

The immediate purpose of my amendment is to provide a method better than the general income tax for $31,000,000 to meet a portion of the deficiency expected to arise under the Wilson tariff bill. I have shown that the income tax, proposed by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMillin], can nearly all be shifted from the immediate payers to the shoulders of the poor, or comparatively poor, who consume the products of the industries out of which the incomes arise, or who borrow the money upon which incomes, in the form of interest, are paid.

I have also shown that the greatest of all sources of income in this country is the unearned increment of land resulting to private owners from the presence, industry, and enterprise of the whole people, and that that form of income, equal to all other incomes from invested wealth combined, will escape taxation. I have shown that a tax on the value of land, exclusive and irrespective of improvements, will fall entirely upon the unearned increment of land; will burden only the margin of production and impose no burden whatever upon production; that it cannot be shifted; that its tendency will be to make land speculation unprofitable; to discourage land monopoly, and to open up the natural resources of this great country to the citizens of the country on equal terms.

I have freely and frankly admitted that my amendment is intended only as an entering wedge, to be followed, as rapidly as opportunity will permit, by other legislation on the same line and principle, until the whole burden of taxation for national, State, county, and municipal purposes shall be removed from industry and commerce, and from consumption, and shall all be levied upon the rental value of land, irrespective of improvements—not upon the rent of land, for that would be a tax on the use of land, but upon the rental value, which includes the rental value of all land, whether used or unused.

I have shown that the complete establishment of that system of taxation would make it unprofitable for any man to own or hold land for any speculative purpose. That land would therefore be held only for the uses for which it is best fitted, and that unused land would be open to the people for settlement upon the sole condition that they should pay its economic rental value to the public whenever it should acquire such rental value.

I have shown that such a system of taxation would entirely destroy the power that monopolists now have to levy tribute on labor; that it would open up natural opportunities for the immediate redistribution of such labor as, in the advances of material progress, is displaced by inventions and by improvements in the arts of wealth production; that it would set labor free from the dominion that wealth now holds over it; that it would do away at once and forever with the surplus labor now congregated in industrial centers, in enforced idleness; that it would immediately and forever do away with the degrading competition which results from the constant pressure of the presence of the "army of the unemployed," whose necessities, and not the value of labor, measure the wages that all labor shall receive.

I have shown that this restoration of natural opportunities to labor would do away with the class distinctions and class dominion that have already brought such wretched consequences to our country and that threaten its social and political destruction. I have shown that it would do away with industrial depressions by removing the power that the landed class now has to raise its groundrents so high as to make industry and commerce unprofitable to labor and capital. I have shown that it would make in this country the greatest and noblest commonwealth that has ever existed in the world; I have shown that it would give to every citizen an equal stake in the country, an independent home, and unlimited opportunities for independent self-employment.

In a word, that it would make the citizens of this country equal sharers in the common heritage—the measureless and inexhaustible resources of this country. I have shown that as a mere fiscal reform it would afford the simplest, least burdensome, most inexpensive, and least inquisitorial system of taxation which the ingenuity of man has ever yet suggested; and I have shown that in addition to producing ample revenue for the needs of all our government, it is also calculated to produce the highest and most desirable moral and material advantages to the whole people; that in addition to being the best system of raising revenue for public uses, it would be the most powerful of all conceivable agencies in establishing equality, liberty, and justice among all of our citizens.

The monopoly of land is a continuing wrong against mankind. It is not like the misappropriation of goods, a single wrong afflicting only the person against whom it is originally perpetrated. The monopoly of land afflicts the succeeding generations of the landless people just as severely as it does the people who were first despoiled. The monopoly of the land of Ireland works just as great a hardship on the present generation of the Irish people as the original appropriation inflicted upon the generation then living. This is because personal property is intended for the satisfaction of immediate wants, and the wrong of its misappropriation passes away when the time for its consummation has passed. But land is the source of subsistence for all generations, and its private monopoly wrongs and injures every generation against which it bears.

I do not expect the amendment which I have proposed to be adopted at this session of Congress. It is not offered with any such expectation, but its presentation and discussion marks a new era in the tax-reform movement.

I know that many members of this House are already favorably disposed toward the single-tax system, but I know that most of those who favor it feel bound to support the income tax, as a step in the right direction, and that they will not vote for this or for any other measure as a substitute for the income tax. But I wish the world to know that there are even three or four men in the present Congress who are willing to stand up and be counted for the great principle of human rights, to which, in my judgment, a large share of the future belongs.

I shall, therefore, when the vote is taken, without any desire to delay proceedings, call for a division; and I hope that those who vote for the amendment may be granted the privilege of having their names recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I shall esteem that record as a roll of honor, though I know at this moment of but two other members who are willing to rise with me upon my call for a division. The present is not auspicious to those who judge of the value of a measure by the number of its supporters, but the eternal power of truth is our reliance, and the future is ours.

True thoughts have moved the world before,
And so they shall again.

Thought moves faster now than in the olden time, and the world is ever more and more inclining to be guided by reason.

A change cometh over our sphere
And the old goeth down to decay;
A new light hath dawned on the darkness of yore,
And men shall be slaves and oppressors no more.

We have reason to congratulate ourselves upon what to you must seem an extremely small beginning for a great undertaking. But we see the truth as you will see it when you have devoted yourself to its study as we have done. We know that the true scientific basis of taxation is to be found in the sanctuary of eternal justice. We know that we are proceeding along the lines of natural law, and to establish the true relations between society and the individuals who compose it; between mankind and the bounties which the Creator has provided for human subsistence and comfort.

We have confidence in the ultimate triumph of right, in spite of all the powers that may oppose it. We who have been in this struggle from the beginning have observed the fermentation and purification of thought upon this question as you have not seen it. We are filled not merely with the zeal which accompanies every struggle for the right, but with the knowledge also that the leaven of thought on this great question is working among the people. And we know that regardless of what we may do, or fail to do hereafter, the brightest and bravest of mankind are ready to take up the gage of battle where we leave it and to carry it to the goal to which our efforts point. In this struggle the champions of natural justice cannot win all of their battles, but they will continue their work through victory and defeat to final triumph. We do not now know who may be the future champions of this reform, but this we do know:

The strife begun shall never cease
Till all mankind are free.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Let us have a vote, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has ordered that a vote be now taken on the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN], and any pending amendment. There is one pending amendment, that offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. MAGUIRE] which the Clerk will now report.

The Clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That has been read once, and unless some gentleman desires to have it reread I ask that it be not read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD] asks to have it reported.

The amendment was again reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. MAGUIRE. Division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 6, noes 180.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I desire to put on record the names of the gentlemen who have had the foresight and the patriotism to vote for this single-tax amendment. They are the gentleman from California, Mr. MAGUIRE (the mover of the amendment); the gentleman from New York, Mr. TRACEY; the gentleman from New York, Mr. WARNER; the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. HARTER; the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. SIMPSON, and myself.

LAND MONOPOLY AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

In the House of Representatives, Friday and Saturday, October 13 and 14, 1893.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 3687) to amend an act entitled "An Act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," approved May 5, 1892,

Mr. MAGUIRE said:

. . . . . .

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] scouted the idea that ninety thousand or one hundred thousand Chinamen in this great country could be a source of any real hardship to the country, or any menace to our institutions, social, political, or industrial, and as one basis for his statement in that behalf he called attention to the magnificent, boundless, inexhaustible, natural resources of this country. Our natural resources are indeed measureless and inexhaustible, and if they were open to the people of this country on fair and equal terms—on the terms on which the great Creator gave them to mankind—the gentleman's argument on that phase of the question would be sound.

But these natural resources, without access to which labor can produce no wealth at all, are not open to the people. They are monopolized. Chinese labor would not and could not oppress American labor if our lands were free, but, as it is, land monopoly and cheap imported labor are the upper and the nether millstones, between which American labor is being ground into serfdom and pauperism, as I will presently explain. The natural resources of the Pacific coast, the natural resources of our entire country, are the private property of a few individuals.

This great country, which we are pleased to call ours, belongs, by legal title, to a few landlords whose number and proportion to the whole people are annually growing less.

Every cheapening of labor, by any means, increases the market value of the land and the rent rolls of its owners; thus, by a double process, widening the gulf between the landless poor and our growing landed aristocracy. American labor, driven from the natural sources of independent self-employment, is forced to enter the labor markets of cities and towns and compete for employment with the cheapest labor that is there offered for sale.

Mr. MORSE. Who is responsible for that condition?

Mr. MAGUIRE. The people are responsible, because they have the power to correct the evil and do not exercise that power; but it is to be hoped that the people will ere long relieve themselves of that responsibility.

The monopoly of the natural earth and its God-given resources is the colossal crime of modern civilization, beside which all other oppressions of the poor are insignificant. Land is the exclusive source of human subsistence. All wealth, all means of physical subsistence, are extracted by labor from the natural earth. Indeed, man is a land animal in every sense. His food, his clothing, his shelter, his very body, all come from the land and all to the land return again. He must live upon the land and from the land, if he lives at all. Even the sailor and the aeronaut are not exempt from these conditions of human existence, for the decks trodden by the one and the bars and ropes which support the other are of land.

The right to life, which we all regard as sacred and inalienable, cannot be more sacred than the right of access to the exclusive means by which life can be supported. "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live."

Yet, in this land of unexampled and unparalleled political liberty, a few men own and control the only source from which the masses of the people can draw their subsistence.

Those few have, therefore, the unnatural power to dictate the terms upon which the masses of the people of this country can live—to fix the terms upon which they may have access to the natural resources that the Creator made necessary to the support of their lives. The Creator not only made and freely gave those resources as a common heritage to all his children for their support and sustenance, but he is constantly from day to day replenishing and improving them by the operation of his natural laws.

The creative power, by its changing seasons, by its sunlight and its rains, and its drifting winds, by its processes of decay in the vegetable and the animal world, is ever building up and replenishing the elements of the land that yield subsistence for mankind.

The unquestioned legal right of our landed class to entirely exclude their fellow-citizens from the lands of our country involves the power to inflict all oppressions less than such exclusion.

We have, therefore, under the forms of the greatest political freedom, a land system which creates an absolute despotism, under which the land-owning classes are lords of the industries, the liberties, and even the lives of their landless fellow-citizens.

It is in connection with this institution and this condition that we must consider the question of Chinese immigration. To consider the question abstractly is not to consider it at all. Upon the abstract question of human rights we are practically agreed.

HOW LABOR IS DEGRADED.

The condition of land monopoly prevailing in this country tends to fix the wages of all labor according to the standard of living of the lowest class of laborers seeking employment in the country.

American labor is no longer free, because its natural opportunities for self-employment,

although they are measureless and inexhaustible, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] has said, are closed against it by monopoly. It can no longer escape from an unsatisfactory labor market, but, in spite of the fact that wages bear no relation whatever to the value of labor, it must bid for employment against the cheapest labor that is offered there.

The tendency and the end of such competition in an over-crowded labor market where there is still an army of unemployed laborers, after all demands for labor have been supplied, is to reduce all wages to the line at which the unemployed surplus, facing the alternative of beggary and starvation, are willing to work.

I have seen the whole problem of labor's degradation worked out in practical life before my own eyes. Thirty years ago, sir, labor in California was comparatively free, because land was comparatively free there. Labor was then paid according to its production and not according to the lowest standard of living prevailing among the laborers as now. It was then worth what it produced and it was paid accordingly.

Laborers being then free to go upon the virgin soil and build their homes and establish their own industries, and being able there to comfortably feed and clothe their families and to educate their children in the standard branches of useful learning, were not obliged to remain in the labor market when it offered less favorable conditions. Then California was labor's "Promised Land." Then California was the last rampart from which the boasted and really glorious "standard of American labor" has been permitted to float.

Then there were in our land no tramps, few paupers, and no surplus labor in enforced idleness.

Then sparseness of population and the consequent lack of social advantages imposed the only hardships that were known. What wonder that those who knew the freedom and the happiness of those conditions yearn for their return!

I saw the change of social conditions come. I saw the shadow of land monopoly steal over and encompass our Golden State. I saw a few hundred men become the absolute owners and masters of her great natural resources, that were manifestly intended by their Creator to furnish homes and subsistence to 40,000,000 people. I saw an empire of her best and richest land pass by act of Congress under the dominion of a single, soulless corporation. I saw the gates of natural independence in home and industry closed against American labor.

I saw labor driven from its lucrative and independent retreats in the mountains and valleys into the markets of the cities and towns, there to be sold as a commodity at prices fixed by the laws of trade.

I saw the wages of American labor changed from the value of its product down to the price fixed by the alternative of pauperism, while the wealth-producing power of labor was increased, on the average, in all departments of industry, elevenfold.

I saw the beneficiaries of monopoly manipulating the labor market to keep the price of labor down. I saw them importing, in tens of thousands, the coolies of China, not for the benefit of the Chinamen, as Eastern philanthropists persist in believing, but for the double purpose of bearing the labor market, by maintaining a surplus and of teaching American laborers to live on the rations of Asiatic slavery. These beneficiaries, let me say to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], are the Californians whose brass bands and streaming banners heralded the dawn of Asiatic slavery on the Pacific coast in the ratification of the Burlingame treaty; and they, sir, would again furnish bands and banners to celebrate the resumption of their slave traffic if the Geary act were repealed.

In the great State of California, whose natural resources are confessedly capable of supporting 40,000,000 people, I saw the horrors that are supposed to result only from overpopulation, prevailing with a population of only 1,000,000.

I saw the millionaire and the tramp, contemporaneous menaces to our civilization, arise out of these conditions.

I saw the millionaire, without productive effort on his part, become a multi-millionaire, upon the tribute commanded by his purchased and granted privileges; and I saw the army of pauperism growing as he grew, and growing because of the conditions that made him grow—recruited by thousands from the ranks of unemployed labor—a ghastly procession of vice and crime, and rags and filth, and torment and despair, drifting listlessly, as "flotsam and jetsam" on the tide of our civilization, to whatever goal a just God may deem suitable at the close of their earthly hell.

These are the results as I have seen them on the Pacific coast, of land monopoly, supplemented by the importation of Chinese slaves. These are the conditions which we seek to mitigate by the enforcement of the Geary act.

The picture that I have drawn is no "distorted vision," no "distempered dream," but a stern tragedy in real life enacted in the open light of day. An awful tragedy on which the curtain rose within my memory, and upon the last act of which—the final triumph of humanity over monopoly—I hope to see the curtain fall within my lifetime.

DECLINE AND FALL OF ROME.

These results of land monopoly are not (excepting the Chinese slavery phase) peculiar to California or the West.

They prevail throughout the civilized world, wherever our land system prevails; but in the older sections of our country the change from free conditions antedates the earliest recollections of the generation now upon the

stage of public life, and the Chinese phase of our Western problem has no parallel east of the Roeky Mountains.

But it has a striking parallel in the history of the decline and fall of the civilization and power of ancient Rome.

Macaulay tells us that "in the brave days of old," when Rome was mistress of the world; when to be a citizen of Rome was esteemed the proudest privilege of manhood, her "lands were fairly portioned" among her citizens. In the period of her decline and fall the lands had become the property of a few great landlords who employed slaves to work them. The landless citizens, thus excluded from the poor privilege of working as laborers upon the lands which once their fathers owned, drifted helplessly to the cities and towns, and there, in the helplessness of enforced idleness, they sank into pauperism and vice. Their debased suffrage became mere merchandise in the market, thus extending instead of controlling the powers of the monopolists. The soldiers of Rome became supplicants for alms, and their children hereditary paupers. The outer form of her official life alone preserved the semblance of Rome's departed glory. Then Rome fell, and, over the sepulchre of her once splendid civilization, her epitaph was written: *Latifundia perdidere Italiam*" ("Great states ruined Italy").

Shall history be permitted to repeat itself? Shall the lords of our land be permitted to work it with slave labor? Shall they be permitted to exclude our brethren, and our fellow-citizens from the poor privilege of carning their living as hired laborers upon the land in which, by natural right, they have an equal interest with the landlords themselves?

Shall they be permitted for their private gain to bring upon our country the curse that shattered the Empire of Rome? Shall they be permitted to turn our civilization backward, and make the ages of its development droop again?

No; this is our country, this is our civilization. Their preservation is our first, and our highest duty, and is the truest friendship to mankind.

We of the West do not yield to the people of New England in love of humanity. As a native son of New England I glory in her devotion to the cause of liberty and civilization. Our warfare is not against the unfortunate Chinamen. We would rather help them than hurt them.

We are struggling to preserve our own people from the hell of slavery that yawns beneath them. That accomplished, we will, in proportion to our numbers and our means, match every dollar and every effort that New England will contribute for the enlightenment and civilization of the Chinese, and for the betterment of their moral and social condition. Until American labor shall be made free we demand that it be protected from the competition of slavery. The emancipation of our own labor is the only just alternative for the exclusion and deportation of the Chinese. This brings me to the discussion of that alternative—the emancipation of labor.

HOW TO MAKE LABOR FREE.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] asked: "Who is responsible" for the condition of land monopoly prevailing in this country, and I answered that the people were responsible, because they have the power to correct the evil and do not exercise that power.

The question is pertinent and important, because if the greatest evil of Chinese immigration results from faults in our land system, it may well be asked why we do not cure those faults and let the Chinese remain.

The gentleman's question, touching as it does the very heart of the great social conflict now agitating the civilized world, deserves a more complete and a more detailed answer.

The remedy which I propose for the evil of land monopoly is simple, just, practical and unquestionably sufficient. It is this: To appropriate to public use, by taxation, for the support of our Federal, State, and municipal governments, the entire rental value of all land, irrespective of improvements, and to abolish all other taxes.

Would that be just? If it would not be just it would not be expedient. I hold that no permanent good ever resulted from an act of injustice. "Never yet did men or nations prosper finally in wrong." Entertaining these views and believing with Daniel Webster that "Justice, sir, is the great interest of man on earth," I am fully convinced, after mature deliberation, that the remedy is not only just in itself, but that it embodies the only means by which justice can be permanently and universally established among men.

Land is the common heritage of all mankind. It was freely given by the Creator, with all of its elements and all of its powers, for the equal use and sustenance of all mankind. It was not given to any one generation, nor to any class or classes in any generation, but equally to all mankind, from the first child of nature to the last human creature who shall inhabit the earth.

Land is the common heritage of every child of God—not as the heir of his natural father, not according to the possessions or the will of his natural father, whose right to land perishes with his own life—but as the direct heir of the Universal Father, from whom the right to life, to liberty, to air, to sunlight, are likewise directly inherited.

The true province of government is to regulate the use of this heritage by its citizens while preserving to each his equal right therein.

Why do men monopolize land?

To cure the evil of land monopoly the motive for it must be clearly understood in order that the incentive may be intelligently removed. Is the motive self-aggrandizement, or is it malicious, or is it mercenary? Our common experience is alone necessary to determine the question.

The motive is almost wholly mercenary. The desire for power over other men has its influence, but it is purely incidental.

Profit, either present or prospective, is practically the sole inducement to land monopoly. That profit is yielded either in present groundrent or future enhancement of the land value.

What is groundrent, and why does land, the natural elements and qualities of which remain unchanged, continue to advance in value in all growing communities?

Who produces the rental value of land? What influence has Chinese slave labor upon groundrent?

Groundrent is the landlord's share of production. It is the tribute charged by the owner of the natural earth for allowing others to use it. Its measure is, referring to any given piece of land: "the excess of its product over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use."

In practice it may be generally stated that the rental value of any given piece of land is the difference between the average value of its product and the average cost (labor and capital) of production, for the period of the lease.

It is therefore manifest that whatever increases the value of the product, without increasing the cost of production, increases groundrent, as: an increased demand for the product, resulting from increase of population or other cause, or an improvement in the quality of the product.

It is also manifest that whatever reduces the cost of production tends to increase groundrent, as: a reduction of the wages of labor, inventions of labor-saving machinery, and improvements in the methods of combining and subdividing labor.

Thus it is that, under our land system, every contribution to material progress, as well as every reduction in the wages of labor, attaches itself to the land and inures to the benefit of the landlords in increased groundrent.

For example, let as suppose that a given farm, or a shop or store site, which can be operated by one man, will yield a groundrent of $150 per year, when the standard wages of the required labor are $2 per day; if the wages of such labor be generally reduced to $1.75 per day, the cost of productively using that land will be reduced about $75 per year, and the amount of that reduction of cost can be added to the rent, unless, as another result of the reduction of wages the price of the product also goes down in the market.

Making an allowance of $40 on account of the reduction in the price of the product (a very liberal allowance), we have a net saving of $35 per year, which the landlord can add to his rent. This is the primary effect, only, of the reduction of wages upon the value of land. There is another effect equally important. A piece of land which will yield a certain amount of rent annually as a net income, is worth as an investment twenty times the amount of its annual rent.

Therefore, an addition of $35 per annum to the rental value of the land in question would increase its market price $700.

Thus, the reduction of 25 cents per day in the poor man's wages not only lessens his purchasing power to that extent, but actually adds $700 to the price of the home which it is his life's ambition to secure.

This is the result which every reduction of wages brought about by Chinese competition has produced in California.

This is the result which, with greater or less intensity, is being produced by land monopoly everywhere.

The displacement of labor by labor-saving inventions drives the displaced laborers into the market to swell the army of the unemployed. The natural opportunities for the redistribution of the labor thus displaced being closed by monopoly, competition among laborers is intensified, wages reduced, and rent correspondingly increased.

This is the process which is enslaving labor and exalting landlordism everywhere.

PUBLIC ENTITLED TO ALL GROUNDRENT.

We have now seen, in brief outline at least, what groundrent is and how it arises. We have seen that it is an increment of value produced and imposed upon the natural earth by the presence, industry, enterprise, inventiveness, and virtues of the whole people of each community in which it arises.

We have seen that it absorbs all of the general advantages of the material progress of the whole people, that to the landlord it is in every sense an unearned increment to which as landlord he does not in any way contribute.

Merely permitting labor to use land productively is not a contribution to production, because the land, with all of its useful elements, was given to mankind by God, and would have been accessible to labor if the shadow of landlordism had never darkened the horizon of our civilization.

The landlord is not entitled to the rental value of his location, because he does not produce it.

The community is entitled to the rental value, because the community does produce it. Every value belongs of natural right to him whose labor or service produces it, and without whose labor or service it would not have existed. It is immaterial whether the value be produced by one person, or by ten persons, or by a million persons. It belongs to those who produce it—individually, if it be individually produced; collectively, if it be collectively produced.

The argument in favor of leaving the accrued rental value of land, that is, the unearned increment which has already attached to land, to the present owners, is based upon a mistake of fact. There is no such thing as an accrued rental value attaching to any land. All future rental values of land depend upon what the people will do in the future, and not at all upon what they have done in the past.

It is, therefore, just for the people who produce the rental value of land to take that value by taxation for their public uses.

This rule applies to all land whether it be owned by landlords, or by speculators, or by its immediate occupants.

The value which the public gives to the location should be paid to the public by the person who is in a position to control or appropriate that value.

As the landlords have confessedly no moral or legal right to compel the people to put forth the enterprise and industry necessary to produce and to maintain the rental value of their lands, they certainly can have no moral right to privately appropriate any of the direct or indirect results of such enterprise and industry as the people may voluntarily put forth.

As to improvements, the man who plants an orchard, or digs a ditch, or builds a house or a fence should pay no more taxes upon his orchard or his field or his lot than he would be required to pay if he had made no improvements whatever.

The value of the improvements belongs to the man who makes the improvements, by the same rule of right which awards the value of the location to the people who produce it; and a wise concern for the public interest dictates the encouragement of improvements by exempting them from taxation, rather than the discouragement of improvements by placing any kind of burden upon them.

The man who builds a house or plants an orchard increases the means of satisfying human wants, and is a benefactor of mankind in spite of the fact that his motive may be purely selfish; while the man who keeps a foot of useful land out of use works a corresponding injury to mankind.

This expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax on land values, as a substitute for all other forms of taxation, further appears in the fact that it would save nine-tenths of the expense and waste now involved in levying and collecting taxes upon personal property, upon imports, and upon business privileges, all of which taxes are regularly shifted from the primary payers to the ultimate consumers—falling principally upon the overburdened farmers and laborers of our country.

Besides it would require men to pay taxes according to the advantages which they receive from the community, and not according to their necessities, as now.

As such a tax would bear upon land according to its value, and not according to area, and as the value of farming land is very small, by comparison with the value of land used for commercial and other industrial purposes, the small farmers—the most heavily burdened class under our present system—would find the single tax less in volume and far less oppressive in method than the complex and accumulated burdens of the direct and indirect taxes which now fall upon them with notorious inequality.

A tax on land values is the only property tax that always falls with proportionate equality upon all owners and that cannot be shifted from the person paying it to the ultimate consumer or user. The reason that it cannot be shifted is that while a tax on any other kind of property tends to check its production, and thus, by the law of supply and demand, to increase its price sufficiently to cover the tax, a tax on land values forces idle land into the market, increasing the supply of land offered for sale or lease, and thus, by the same law of supply and demand, reducing, instead of increasing, the rent. Heavy taxation of houses increases the rent of houses by the amount of the tax, but heavy taxation of land values decreases the rent of land. All political economists are agreed on that proposition, and it needs no argument.

Such a change in our taxation laws would not be an impairment of any vested right of landowners, because the power and right of taxation, to the extent of taking the entire rental value, whenever the public good may seem to require it, has been absolutely reserved to our governments, national and State, against every foot of land that has ever passed into private ownership in this country.

EFFECTS OF THE SINGLE TAX.

The effect of such a system of taxation upon the monopoly of land in this country must be instantly apparent. It would at once make such monopoly unprofitable and wasteful to the monopolist. It would at once take away the only incentive that now exists for the monopoly of land. It would compel all landowners to use their land productively, or at once let it go to those who would so use it.

Every user of land could afford to pay the margin of production or economic rental value of his land in taxes; but no man, above the mental level of a fool, would pay taxes amounting to the economic rental value of his land for the mere purpose of monopolizing it.

It would put an end to land speculation and the train of evils that follow ever in its wake. It would put an end to the collection of speculative rent, to booms, and to industrial depressions.

It would encourage the productive use and improvement of lands by relieving them of all public burdens, while insuring permanency of tenure, security of improvements, and security in the fruits of all productive effort.

It would forever settle the conflict between capital and labor and, by improving the condition of labor, put an end to strikes and boycotts and lockouts.

It would make land freer to labor than it was in California forty years ago; freer than it was on the Atlantic seaboard two hundred years ago.

It would restore the once cherished dignity of American labor, and the grand individuality which was once the distinguishing characteristic of American citizenship.

As a relief to our overcrowded labor markets, it would be equal to the discovery of a

new and free and fertile continent in the Pacific Ocean, and its advantages would be more permanent.

PHILOSOPHY OF HENRY GEORGE.

The people have not yet sufficiently learned that labor never can be free except where land is free.

Knowledge must ever precede right credence, and right credence must ever precede correct political action.

The people are reading and studying the philosophy of Henry George. Progress and Poverty, which a distinguished English writer has happily denominated "a glorious gospel of justice," is steadily and rapidly changing the credence of the world on the subject of land tenure.

It is the herald of the next great step in the order of social evolution.

It is a practical development of the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy. It is a justification of our Declaration of Independence. It is a vindication of "the ways of God to man."

CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

In the House of Representatives, Wednesday, August 23, 1893.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled, "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes":

Mr. MAGUIRE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This extra session of Congress has been called upon the theory that the industrial and commercial depression prevailing in this country has been caused by the silver-purchase provision of the so-called Sherman act of 1890, and that good times can be restored by the repeal of that provision.

The advocates of a single gold standard have made a desperate attempt to convince the people that the prevailing hard times are due to the disposition manifested on the part of our government to favor an extension of silver coinage, and to the fear that the displacement of gold in our National Treasury by silver bullion, under the provisions of the silver-purchase act, will naturally and necessarily force our Government to a largely extended coinage of silver, and thus enable the debtors of this country to pay their obligations in a depreciated silver currency. But the evidences of history and contemporaneous events are all against that claim. They show as conclusively as human evidence can show that our present industrial and commercial condition is not due to any legislation in this or any other country subsequent in the year 1837.

They further show that our deplorable industrial condition, with all its symptoms of crisis and panic, is very like the periodically recurring industrial depressions of the last sixty years. They show that the social upas tree, whose bitter fruit is now spreading ruin and desolation throughout our fair land, had its root and origin in laws or conditions which have existed in this country for at least sixty years. Our industrial depressions may be increasing in intensity, but they are not all changing in kind.

This is the seventh industrial depression through which we have passed in this country within sixty years, and each of these depressions has extended to all of the leading civilized nations of the earth. They have become a feature of modern civilization, and recur at intervals of from eight to ten years, with almost the regularity of changes in the moon's phases. They produce greater havoc and misery than the periodical wars and pestilences of the earlier civilization. They were unknown in the earlier stages of our civilization, and they are growing more frequent and more severe with the development of all that is considered good and glorious and useful in this era of unexampled progress. In earlier ages they had no hard times, except when crops failed, resulting in famine, or when wars or pestilences interrupted the industries of the people.

But industrial depressions come upon us now when nature smiles, when our harvests are most prolific, when we are at peace with the world, in the enjoyment of general good health, and when every natural condition seems radiant with the promise of prosperity and plenty. Suddenly thriving industrial and commercial enterprises become unprofitable. The capitalists who conduct them find that when their rents and wages have been paid out of their production they are not getting interest upon the capital which they have invested. They call a halt. They economize. They demand that labor shall share the loss which they are suffering. A conflict between capital and labor ensues, with its incidents of strikes, boycotts, and lockouts, unhappily sometimes attended with bloodshed and destruction of property. Compromises are from time to time reached, which are in turn broken as new conditions offer advantages to either of the contending parties.

The waste of the conflict takes away whatever return might otherwise come to business. Production is checked in that quarter and the producing laborers are thrown out of employment. The purchasing power of the laborers thrown out of employment is destroyed. Their demand for other commodities is checked by the destruction of their purchasing power, and the production of such other commodities is likewise checked. These effects of the great primary cause speedily communicate their influence through the whole

network of the world's productive agencies, diminishing profit by checking demand for productive effort. With the cessation of production in one quarter or in one line comes a corresponding suspension of demand for commodities of other kinds. The merchant cannot sell his wares because his customers have lost their purchasing power. He cannot collect the obligations due him for the same reason, and he cannot pay his debts to the wholesale merchant because he cannot collect his dues from his customers.

The wholesalers have arranged for commercial credit on a basis perfectly safe so long as sales continue and payments are made within the periods of ordinary trade credit, but wholly unsafe when collections from retail merchants fail. The wholesaler is pressed for the payment of his obligations. He in turn presses the retail merchant. The retail merchant presses his customers, but his customers are out of employment, not only unable to make further purchases according to their necessities, but unable to pay their comparatively small debts for past purchases.

Universal stagnation ensues. Merchants and manufacturers continue nominally to carry on business, although profits are gone. They pay rent out of their capital for the sole purpose of saving their locations, which have become an important part of their business. The glimmering taper of hope allures them even to the vortex of general bankruptcy. Financiers become alarmed for the safety of their investments and for the sufficiency of securities. They insist upon the sacrifice of seeurities for the satisfaction of their claims. The millions of small depositors in savings banks are forced to draw upon their bank savings to meet their obligations and to pay the expense of living, which in good times are paid out of their daily wages.

Those who do not need their deposits for such immediate use begin to feel that the risk of the bank's stability is too great for the interest which the deposits yield. They attempt to withdraw their deposits, panic seizes upon the minds of depositors generally, and run after run is precipitated upon such banks, which, having the bulk of the deposits loaned upon securities on which they cannot immediately realize, arc forced to the wall. Their suspension of payment increases the panic and adds to the general distrust. Credit, upon which nine-tenths of our business is done in good times, is entirely withdrawn.

Every firm, corporation, and individual is employed in gathering and hoarding such money as can be obtained to meet the exigencies of his or its own business, for in the best of times our industrial and commercial systems are honeycombed with debt, and a capital of $10,000 floats a credit of at least $30,000. This enormous contraction of the instrument of exchange is fatal to what remains of business. The business of the whole country finally collapses under the strain. Then a new adjustment of rent, interest, and wages is made, and the wheels of industry and commerce revolve again, bringing the blessings of prosperity and peace. This is the history of every industrial depression, and the present depression is not in any respect exceptional.

Russell Sage, a distinguished financier, is reported as saying that this depression is exceptional because it has "touched bottom," as he expresses it. But every industrial depression of which I speak has "touched bottom"; that is to say, it has ultimately reached the land-owning class and has compelled that class to largely reduce its ground-rent in order to give business a chance to pick up again. That is "touching bottom." Then by some process, as mysterious to the general observer as the beginning of the depression, times improve, business gets better, credit grows stronger, and an era of prosperity ensues which gives promise of perpetuity. For four or five years it continues to rise, then it is changed again, and the history of the former depression, through the course of another three or four years, repeats itself with marvelous exactness.

It is idle to attribute these depressions to local or temporary causes. Their cause must be as general as its results. A cause affecting this country alone will not explain an industrial depression existing at the same time in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and in all of the English colonies that girdle the world. Neither is it reasonable to attribute one of these depressions to a cause which manifestly did not contribute to any of the other precisely similar depressions occurring before it. Duriug the past fifty-six years there were six of these industrial depressions in the United States, extending with equal virulence to Great Britain, including her colonies, to France, to Germany, and to Belgium.

A brief history of all of these depressions will be found in a volume entitled "Industrial Depressions," published by Honorable Carroll D. Wright, our National Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in 1886. The first of these depressions reached its climax in 1837; the second about the year 1847; the third about the year 1857; the fourth in 1866; the fifth commenced in 1873 and continued to 1879, reaching its climax about the year 1877; the sixth reached its climax about the year 1884. All of these depressions swept over all of the countries which I have named. The present depression likewise prevails in all of these countries. It commenced in the latter part of 1889, and has, we may reasonably hope, reached its climax at this time.

The McKinley tariff came into effect shortly after this depression began, but it did not cause the depression. We had similar depressions under the low tariffs of 1847 and 1857, and under the high tariffs of 1866, 1877, and 1884. At most, the McKinley act has intensified the present depression. The cause of these depressions must be immediately associated with the primary factors in the production and distribution of wealth, and it

must pervade the whole system of wealth distribution throughout the civilized world.

SPECULATIVE GROUNDRENT THE PRIMARY AND UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

Philosophers, faithful in the pursuit of Truth and daring to follow her wherever she may lead, have traced to their primary and universal cause these periodical calamities which blast the happiness and desolate the homes of half the people of the civilized world once in every decade. That cause is the constantly recurring pressure of groundrent, as a factor in the distribution of wealth, against the profits of capital and the wages of labor.

The factors of all production are land, labor, and capital; land being the passive factor, freely provided, with all of its potential elements, by the Creator. Labor and capital are the active factors, contributed by human energy.

The factors of distribution are landlords, laborers, and capitalists, and their shares are called rent, wages, and interest.

It is manifestly of the utmost importance that the distribution of the wealth produced among these factors should be equitable.

If the distribution be inequitable it will certainly discourage the productive effort of the factor which receives less than its share.

For example: If labor should insist in taking the entire product in wages, landlords and capitalists would not assist it in production, because it would cease to be profitable to them.

If capitalists should insist upon taking the whole product, landlords and laborers would not assist in production, because it would cease to be profitable to them.

If landlords should insist upon taking the whole product as rent, laborers and capitalists would not further assist in production, because it would be unprofitable to them. And, as labor and capital are the only active factors in wealth production, productive effort would thus be brought to an absolute standstill.

These, of course, are extreme suppositions, but they bring strongly into view the universal rule that whatever tends to make wealth production unprofitable to any of the active factors in such production, tends to check and finally to stop productive effort on the part of that factor.

Laborers will work as long as they can get for their labor the standard wages fixed by competition, although they know full well that such wages are greatly less than their equitable share.

Capitalists will invest in productive enterprise and will continue such enterprise just as long as it yields, with ordinary security, the standard interest fixed by competition among capitalists.

Groundrent is the margin which production in any locality yields above the standard wages and standard interest necessary to induce laborers and capitalists to carry on the productive enterprise. When production yields no such margin there should be no groundrent. This law of rent, as accepted by all political economists, is thus stated:

> The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use.

This law is universal and applies to the locations or sites of stores and factories on which wealth is produced, as well as to rural lands from which wealth is produced.

If groundrent at any time rises above the margin of production, it is manifest that it must do so by eating into the standard wages of labor, or the standard interest (sometimes called profit) of capital, or into both wages and interest.

It is a matter of common observation that rent always advances in good times; that it keeps advancing while times are improving, and that it is always very high when times begin to get hard.

Groundrent is a tide that rises with prosperity and as high as prosperity, absorbing its fruits, without in any way contributing to their production, and it finally strangles the productive forces upon which it feeds. It takes such a large share of the wealth produced by labor and capital that it makes production unprofitable to the factors—labor and capital—which produce all wealth.

Labor and capital struggle with each other in vain attempts to shift the burden of excessive rent. The land monopolist who exacts the rent tribute is so strongly intrenched that neither labor nor capital thinks of trying to beat down the speculative rent tide which is strangling them both. Soon the wasteful struggle between capital and labor ceases by the abandonment of production. In the midst of conditions which ought to make production uncommonly profitable, excessive toll in the form of groundrent has made it absolutely unprofitable. The laborer, willing to work, is forced to stand aside with his arms folded in unwilling idleness, consuming the small savings of his short period of prosperity, and trembling for the fate of his once happy family when his little store shall be exhausted.

The capitalist, with his investment idle, paying the exorbitant rent out of his wasting capital in order to save his location, stands half hoping, half despairing, waiting for the uncertain issue of bankruptcy or a return of good times.

The prior prosperity has brought the same pressure home to every other commercial and industrial enterprise in the civilized world. The checking of production at one point reacts upon the wages and profits of industry and commerce at all other points.

This destruction of the purchasing power of producers of one commodity lessens demand for other commodities, and consequently lessens the profits of their production; while the speculative rent, or toll, for the privilege of producing remains undiminished.

Production, by reason of this unnatural pressure of speculative or excessive rent,

gradually becomes unprofitable everywhere. Stagnation ensues, and labor and capital, in utter helplessness, await the inevitable hour of their universal bankruptcy—the hour when landlordism, having absorbed their substance, driven thousands to suicide, hundreds of thousands to pauperism, and ruined and dismembered untold numbers of families whom God had blessed with love and happiness, finally reduces groundrent to the economic line and thus gives another breathing spell to the wealth-producing classes.

The moment that rent is reduced to the economic line business of every useful kind becomes profitable again, because every industry can, at all times, afford to pay, as rent, the margin of its production, while no business on earth can afford to pay more than that margin.

I have now given you, in general outline, the history and the philosophy of our industrial depressions. There is no mystery about them. They have been accurately prophesied upon scientific principles. They have been watched and studied in their courses. They have all disclosed the same symptoms, and have all produced the same results.

Their first outward symptoms are conflicts between capital and labor (natural allies in production), and they all end in financial panic—the natural and reasonable outcome of the prospective or present general bankruptcy of the debtor classes.

Amid the desolating depression of the last three years, rents have been collected at the rates prevailing during the prosperous year 1889. Every merchant and producer in the land (except the insignificantly small number of landowners among them) has been paying more than the margin of his production in groundrent.

Not in legislation for the contraction or inflation of our currency, but in legislation to prevent and destroy land monopoly, lies the cure of industrial depressions and the salvation of our free institutions.

The change may not come at once. It may not come in time to prevent another industrial depression. But it is coming, and the morning of the twentieth century will bring to us an era of justice and liberty, and peace, and permanent prosperity, such as the world has never known.

In that era mere privilege shall cease to collect toll from the producers of wealth, and service alone shall command a distributive share in the wealth produced by labor.

. . . . . .

I have no idea that we shall be able to do anything at this session of Congress to relieve the existing depression.

Laws wiser and more universal than ours will cause a reaction to better times, as the same laws brought the reactions after the crises of 1837, 1847, 1857, 1866, 1877, and 1884.

This reaction will come regardless of what we may do or fail to do.

Some day it will be the province of this Congress, and of our State Legislatures, to remove the primary cause of these periodical scourges of our country and of our civilization.

In that day the triumph and the vindication of Democratic principles, of the principles of Thomas Jefferson and his illustrious disciples, will be complete, and equal rights and natural justice will be irrevocably established among men. [Applause.]

SINGLE TAX IN NEW ZEALAND.

In the House of Representatives, Saturday, August 26, 1893.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes":

Mr. MAGUIRE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Since addressing this House on Wednesday last, my attention has been called to some very important facts, coming to us from the colony of New Zealand, which tend very materially to confirm the views which I then expressed concerning the real cause of, and the true remedy for, industrial depressions.

I then took the position that the constant upward tendency and pressure of groundrent, as a factor in the distribution of wealth, periodically made production unprofitable to the active factors—capital and labor—and thus unnaturally checked production when all natural conditions were conducive to prosperity.

I also suggested, merely suggested, because its discussion in detail was not in order, that the true remedy for this primary and universal cause of industrial depressions was the appropriation of the unearned increment, or rental value, of all land to public use by means of a single tax on land values.

About two years ago, sir, the government of New Zealand took the same view of the cause of our periodical depressions and amended its taxation laws on the lines of the remedy which I have suggested. The amendments were crude, but they were on the right lines. All reports show that those amendments to her taxation laws have been of wonderful advantage to that colony.

Our consul at Auckland, Mr. J. D. Connolly, stated in a recent interview that there had been no industrial depression and no financial crisis there.

Mr. Thomas Brown, a leading citizen of that colony now in this country, in a recently published statement says that work is plentiful at good wages, that the colony has not, during the past five years, suffered any dis-

turbance of either credit or industry and that the future promises increased prosperity.

Mr. J. T. Farrell, of New South Wales, has just published a letter in the St. Louis *Courier* commenting on the marvelous escape of the colony of New Zealand from the depression and crisis which have desolated all of the other English colonies in that section of the world.

From that letter, sir, I desire to read the following extracts :

Under the rule of the new political element which came into action there at the last general election, the prosperity of the colony has been amazing. To-day it is incomparably the best colony of the group for a majority of wage-earners, and its advantage increases. The latest returns show a great increase of imports and exports, a heavy surplus of current revenue over current expenses, made np of advances in the returns from every department of public service, great expansion of national wealth as shown by large deposits in the savings and other banks, and an almost total disappearance of the local unemployed.

A wholesale exodus of workers from all the colonies to New Zealand has been going on for months. The lands are being settled and used, and every indication points to a future of even greater prosperity. Good government and the taxation of monopoly have caused this result. It was predicted that the land and labor legislation would result in continual deficits in the revenne, but as a matter of fact last year they paid $1,000,000 of their national debt, besides carrying $500,000 into the public works fund, and the treasurer estimates the surplus this year at $1,650,000.

Landowners see that further taxation of land values is sure to come. These values are steadily falling and land speculation is dead. Therefore access to land for use is easier than ever before, and production goes on apace.

Why is New Zealand the only oasis in the industrial desert to which the civilized world has been reduced ?

Is it because her reformed taxation laws have timely checked the monopoly of her natural resources ? That is my conclusion.

I cannot personally vouch for the correctness of the statements, but I believe them to be true.

If they be true, the reformed taxation system of New Zealand deserves a prompt and thorough investigation by this Government. If New Zealand has discovered an effectual method of averting industrial depressions, as I believe she has, the people of this country must be saved from any further recurrence of such awful calamities.

While upon this subject I will read the following extract from a recent number of the Sydney (N. S. W.) *Register :*

Mr. Henry Matthews, late home secretary of England, says of New Zealand : "Altogether it seems to me a most desirable place to go to. They have the labor difficulty there, of course, as elsewhere. There seems to be so much scope for individual enterprise that it is well nigh impossible to obtain labor for ordinary purposes at reasonable rates. But this difficulty will, I suppose, be overcome in time."

You will notice, sir, that Mr. Matthews speaks deprecatingly of "the labor difficulty" existing in New Zealand.

But the context of his statement shows that it is not a labor difficulty which laborers have any cause to fear.

The labor difficulty which they (the laborers) fear is the difficulty of obtaining employment, not the difficulty of obtaining laborers to perform the work which offers.

The secret of the matter is that under the taxation laws, which have broken up land monopoly in that colony by making it unprofitable, the surplus labor of the colony has been readily distributed upon the land.

This has made it impossible to maintain an army of unemployed laborers in New Zealand to menace employed laborers at the centers of industry.

This sets labor free and enables it to control the situation and to secure to itself a larger share of the wealth which it produces, while rent, the toll-gatherer's portion, is correspondingly reduced.

Every man at all familiar with our industrial system knows how the army of unemployed laborers maintained in every industrial center of this country and of Europe enslaves the laborers who are employed.

The unemployed laborers, driven by the fear of want, and too often by actual present hunger, bid at every point for the places of those who are employed.

As their necessities become more pressing, their struggle to secure the places of their employed brethren becomes more intense.

They offer to work for lower and lower wages, regardless of the value of their labor, because a bare living is better than starving, or, as the homely adage expresses it, "Half a loaf is better than no bread."

This unnatural competition with hungry and helpless men, even in our land of "inexhaustible natural resources," forces all wages down to the starvation point (the bare living point), except in so far as labor unions have been able, by infinite toil and infinite waste of means, to resist the tendency.

This surplus labor should be distributed upon the unused land of our country. God made it for use, not for speculation, not for monopoly.

I do not say that all, or even a quarter, of the actually idle and destitute laborers who crowd our labor markets would, or could, go out upon the land if it were made free to them. But I do say that a large proportion of the laborers in the great centers, employed as well as unemployed, are better fitted for rural pursuits, and that rural pursuits would be more congenial to them than the intense struggles and privations of the city laborer's life.

These would go out upon the land if it were reasonably free, as they have done in New Zealand.

Their going would relieve the unnatural pressure of competition in the labor markets, and their new industries would create a new demand for labor.

The wages of labor would then be fixed by the value of the labor, as they should always be, and not by the competition of starving men.

"Back to the land," in the language of the distinguished Irish prelate (Bishop Nulty), is the only way to industrial freedom.

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TAXATION AND REFORM.

AN ABLE SPEECH BY HON. T. G. PHELPS

A Startling Array of Statistics of the Cost of the State Government—Suggestions how to Effect Radical Reforms.

Hon. T. G. Phelps, on the evening of May 31st, in response to an invitation, delivered, in Platt's Hall, a very able and well-prepared address on Taxation and Reform. The facts and figures presented by the speaker are of such importance as to commend themselves to the consideration of every tax-payer. Mr. Jeremiah Clarke introduced Mr. Phelps, who, on coming forward was greeted with applause. Mr. Phelps' speech was attentively listened to by the audience, among whom were not a few of our heavy tax-payers, and during its delivery he was frequently interrupted by applause. The subject treated upon being of importance to all tax-payers, we publish the speech in full:

Speech of Hon. T. G. Phelps.

Ladies and Gentlemen: In response to a request made by some of my esteemed fellow-citizens, asking me to present some facts and suggestions regarding the financial condition and expenditures of the Government of this State, I appear before you I congratulate myself on having the opportunity to make the suggestions, and present these facts at so auspicious a time. You will soon be called upon to select all the officers of your State, and a large portion of those of your local government, and should you deem, from the figures I am about to lay before you, reform necessary, you will have full and almost immediate opportunity to secure it. Many of the statistical facts I shall present you I have already once presented to an audience in this city. For repeating them I make no apology, as I intend to repeat them again, and again, and again, until they attract that attention which I know they ought to receive, whether they attract it this year or next, or the next, or the next. Before proceeding to read them you will pardon a few words from me in regard to the relations of the Government to the citizen, and the duties of the citizen to the Government.

Duties of Citizens.

All Civil Governments are ostensibly established for the benefit of the masses who are governed. In Republics, where the people are the sovereigns and the officers of the Government are their chosen and paid servants, this certainly should be the real as well as the ostensible object, and no failure need, or should, be allowed in its attainment.

The Government should protect the citizen, not alone in his life and liberty, but also in his property, industries and morals, by restraining the vicious and bad, by providing a redress for every wrong, and by preventing unnecessary burdens for its support from being placed on him, his industries, or his accumulations. If men cannot enjoy their accumulations they can have no incentive to industry beyond providing the bare necessaries of life, and there can be no general or public prosperity.

The choice of the people's servants who are to administer the Government should most unquestionably claim the earnest attention of every patriotic elector.

A careful inquiry into the moral and intellectual fitness of every man who allows his name to be used in connection with any public office, every elector owes, not to himself alone, but to every other member of the community; and, having settled in his own mind the fittest person for the office, he is inexcusable if from any personal or partisan considerations he casts his vote in favor of one less worthy. The elective franchise should not only be regarded as a boon enabling the citizen to protect himself, but as a most sacred trust, on the proper exercise of which the welfare of the community, and the safety of the Government, must alway depend; and he who fails to exercise this highest prerogative of the citizen as a patriot should, through a fear that some drivelling idiot will call him a politician, or because he is too

indolent, or because he is piqued that people have not seen the exact fitness which he fancies he possesses for some high position, is unworthy of this high trust, of this grave responsibility, and should be classed with those to whom the elective franchise is denied.

To the Government honestly and economically administered, in all its departments, and kept within its legitimate sphere and purpose, every citizen owes, for the benefits conferred on him, his just proportion, according to his means, of the cost of his maintenance, which if he withholds he does a wrong to all other members of the Government, inasmuch as he withholds that which is justly due from him, and if by trick or fraud he avoids its payment, he commits a crime.

But if on the other hand more is demanded of the citizen than is absolutely necessary for the plain and simple purposes of Government, kept within its proper bounds, and administered with such rigid economy as every frugal man uses in his own private affairs, a wrong is done to him proportional to the excessive amount exacted — a wrong which cannot be excused on any grounds whatever.

In any case it is, in plain English, a robbery, as no full and adequate return is made for the money assessed and taken. This robbery is none the less a wrong, or less hard to bear, because it is perpetrated under forms of law and enforced by the edicts of Courts. The only thing making it even tolerable in many cases, is ignorance of the amount wrongfully taken. In a pecuniary point of view, it makes no difference to the citizen whose frugal savings are taken from him whether the money is swallowed up by greedy corporations, or lost through the business incompetency of officers, or squandered on objects foreign to the legitimate purposes of Government, or appropriated by false servants to the payment of salaries to themselves which are double, treble or quadruple those to which they are justly entitled, or taken, in violation of all pretended law, by defaulting officers.

In any case, he is despoiled of his means for supporting and educating his family, and is forced to pay for the chains, which festering on his limbs, bind him to a Government which is tyrannical to the extent to which it has departed from its proper purposes and functions and makes wrongful demands upon its citizens. Though such a Government may still be Republican in form, it is as tyrannous as it is unjust.

In the case of a Republic, it is the tyranny of servants who have forgotten their servitude, and assumed the place of task-masters of the people, a circumstance unfortunately not rare in history. Indeed, it is much to be regretted that officers at the present time, from Presidents and Governors to Constables, are so prone to forget that which should be ever present to their minds, viz: that they are paid servants of the people, and in this respect below the humblest yeoman. Alas! their memories are often as treacherous as their consciences are pliable.

PAY OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.

In regard to the pay of public officers, it is plain I think, that it should be just so much as the class of ability necessary to fill the offices would command in the ordinary pursuits of life, together with a reasonable allowance for the necessary expenses incident to the office, and no more.

If more than a simply just and adequate compensation is paid to officers, men are tempted thereby to forsake the ordinary pursuits of life, on which the prosperity of communities must always depend, and become office-seekers for the pecuniary profit there is in office-holding.

This is so undesirable, and leads to so much of public wrong and immorality, that if an exactly adequate compensation cannot be reached, I deem it most unquestionably better to err on the side of too small, rather than too large, salaries. If men seek public position it should be for the honor there may be in its attainment, and the good they can accomplish in it, and not for the moneyed profit there is in holding official place.

Men who seek office under such circumstances will be likely to remember that there is no honor in holding any official position, however high, in becoming President of the United States even—unless its duties are honorably and creditably performed.

In late years, men without moral or intellectual fitness, have so often successfully sought public offices, for the money they could make out of them, and the wrong rather than the good, they could do in them, and have brought so much scandal and disgrace upon themselves, and the positions they have held, that it is even now sometimes difficult to get the best men to accept any public position whatever. No condition of things could be more alarming, or more seriously threaten the public weal than this.

May God save the Republic, when the time comes, if it ever does come, when the people's unbiased and uninfluenced selection of a man for high position shall carry with it no honor of which he may well feel proud. Should such a time come, the able, the virtuous, and the good, will shun all public office, as the pure do association with the vile, and then we may bid a lasting farewell to all our cherished hopes of the Republic, as it will have accomplished all the noble and beneficent purposes of which it is capable, and its rapid decline toward a hopeless anarchy will have begun, from the depths of which condition no government can arise except it be under a military dictatorship or imperial power.

Let us hope that a more perfect realization of the sacred duties of electors, on our part, will make such a time impossible in all the future.

Next to the apathy of electors, we have, undoubtedly, most to fear from popular error; and right here I want to correct one into which the people have been adroitly led by cunning office holders and office seekers, and that is that it is better to pay officers very liberally, which generally means three or four times as much as their services are worth, in order to secure honesty and fidelity in office. Pay officers so that they can afford to be honest, is quite a common saying among men. And yet none but a thoughtless or a dishonest man ever put forth such a plea. A rascal is a rascal always, while an honest man can be nothing else than an honest man, and the idea that you can hire a rogue to be honest, or, by doing the slightest injustice to a man in an office, which, if conferred on him without his seeking, was accepted without compulsion, and can be resigned and laid down at any moment, is going to make a rogue out of an honest man is too absurd for a moment's thought. We may better have nothing to

do with a man whose integrity is of such a questionable sort as to need a bribe to sustain it. This whole course of reasoning is tantamount to an acknowledgement that the people are at the mercy of the office holders, and not the office holders at the mercy of the people. You may depend upon it, this false theory of reformation has never yet reclaimed a rogue, nor has the failure to practice it ever made a rogue out of an honest man. Yet the idea is as I have said quite a popular one, and illustrates how easily a false public sentiment is sometimes manufactured.

DERELICT OFFICIALS.

San Francisco has recently furnished some quite remarkable illustrations of the truth of what I assert. You pay your poll-tax collectors fifteen per cent. on what they collect, which would enable them to make thirty or forty dollars per day, or ten times as much as your mechanics and laborers do, without working half so hard or as many hours as those same mechanics and laborers. There should be collected from poll-taxes in San Francisco, under the present law, at least $75,000 per annum. Fifteen per cent on this amount would be $ 1,250, to be divided among three or four persons for two or three months' service. This, all must agree, is three or four times as much as the actual value of the service rendered. Yet, did it make honest men out of the rogues who lately held the positions of Poll Tax Collectors? Did it prevent them from forging poll tax receipts in order that they might obtain the whole instead of the fifteen per cent. allowed by law? You have paid your License Collectors more than adequately with no better result. You paid your late Coroner more, probably, than he ever received in his private practice, and yet it was found his robe was not spotless. You pay your Assessor so much that there is always a scramble for the office; yet just at this time a Rosener by any other name would smell as sweet

The fact undoubtedly is that the payment of very high salaries, instead of being a preventative of crime and peculation in office, leads directly to them. It is demoralizing to the individual to receive money, which, though the law gives it to him, he knows he is not honestly entitled to, inasmuch as he has rendered no adequate service for it; and the legitimate effect of it is to weaken his moral nature, create a greed of gain, and promote the very evils which the honest advocates of high salaries seek to obviate by their payment. Again, if more is paid to the officer or public servant than his services are reasonably worth, it is clear that a wrong is done to the honest, industrious, tax-paying many. But the wrong does not stop here. The effect of the wrong is often more disastrous to the office-holder in whose supposed interest it is perpetrated, than to the tax-payer.

Who cannot call to mind numerous instances in which men, who were honest, industrious and prized citizens, have been called to fill positions, the pay and emoluments of which were greatly more than sufficient to compensate them for the service rendered, who were wholly wrecked thereby? They lost their manhood, and society lost productive citizens. As a rule, men, even of well-balanced moral convictions, who are taken from private pursuits, in which they are making one thousand, or fifteen hundred dollars per annum, and given offices, the pay of which are five thousand, ten thousand, fifteen thousand, or as they have sometimes been in this State, from thirty to sixty thousand per annum, can no more, on the close of their term of office, go back to their old business pursuits, than can men return to business after success at gambling. A few can do so, but they are so few as not to change the rule. The majority are no sooner out of an office of this kind than they engage in base and ignoble efforts to secure a re-election; and in these efforts, vain or successful, spend their time until they fall wrecks by the wayside. In justice, then, to public servants, as well as to their employers, the people, their pay should be made to rigidly correspond to the value and amount of service they render, and should be squared and adjusted by the earnings of men in private life. To what extent are they thus adjusted? An answer to this question would of itself necessitate an examination into public expenditures.

In the early history of California, when every public necessity and convenience was to be provided, large expenditures and consequent high rates of taxation were necessary, and of course to be expected.

Every old Californian will remember how readily he submitted to the onerous demands he was then subjected to, cheered as he was, by the reasonable expectation that when capitals, asylums and court houses were built and streets laid out and opened, and more especially as the population increased, his burdens would be materially reduced. Vain hope! After a quarter of a century of waiting under unparalleled taxation, we find our public expenditures have been steadily increased, and are now much greater, per capita, than they were in 1850.

INCREASE OF EXPENDITURES.

The ratio of increase seems to have borne no relation wha ever to public improvements or to population. The gross receipts into the State Treasury have been as follows: In 1851, $330,796 45; in 1852, $346,825 07; in 1853, $454,185 85; in 1854, $1,024,647,37; in 1855, $1, 55,647 32; in 1856, $723,2?9 83; in 1858, $1 92,716 63; in 1862, $1,031,529 03; in 1872, $3,107,?16 17; in 1873, $3,792,615 99. I have excluded those years in which we were affected by the late war. The gross expenditures for the years I have given were: 1851, $585 702 83; in 1852, $925,694 56; in 1853, $1,269,149 13; in 1854, $1,204,759 95; in 1855, $1,337,496 64; in 1856, $992,553 34; in 1859, $1,109,143 20; in 1860, $1,165,717 95; in 1861, $1,462,69? 81; in 1862, $1,146,744; in 1872, $3,062,119 34; in 1873, 3,524,093 34. In 1873 the amount paid for interest on the public debt, redemption of bonds and restitution of money paid for lands, was $408,732 55, leaving as the current expenses of the Government, including improvements, the enormous sum of $2,715,360 79. The expenditures of such a sum for the Government of a State comprising 600,000 inhabitants, I believe wholly unprecedented in time of peace, not excepting even the worst of the so-called carpet-bag Governments of the South. In view of the very extravagant cost of our State Government, it becomes interesting to know how some of our public institutions are managed.

THE STATE PRISON

For example, in 1850, the first year it was under State management, cost, over receipts for prison

labor, $22,557 19; in 1862, $31,784 47. I am told that during the two years of 1862 and 1863, the expenss of guarding, feeding, clothing and caring for the prisoners was but $40,000 over receipts for their labor, but as the cost of some new buildings was merged in the account I cannot say whether or not the statement is true.

These were the first years the prison labor was farmed out, and, as all the prisoners were unskilled in all mechanical employments, their labor was not as valuable as it now is. The labor was then contracted for at thirty cents per day, and now at fifty, yet I find there was expended in 1872 $135,034 50 over receipts for prison labor. Of this amount, however, $40,000 was for a deficiency in the appropriation of the preceding year, leaving as the actual cost of running the prison, including transportation of prisoners, over receipts for prison labor, $95,034 50. In 1873, the expenditures were $125,328 48, of which amount $5181 16 was expended for additions to buildings, but this left a deficiency, which was provided for by the last Legislature, of $25,000. Showing the cost of caring for and transportation of prisoners, over the amount received for their labor, to have been $145,147 32. The cost per day for each prisoner, over receipt for his labor, in 1860, supposing the number of prisoners to have been 600, was 10½ cents, while in 1873, supposing the number to have been 900, it was more than 44 cents per day, or nearly four and a half times as much. Now can there be possibly any necessity for an increase in the cost, per capita, in the expense of the State Prison during the past twelve years. On the contrary, as food, clothing, and guarding, if honestly and intelligently supplied, must cost much less now than then, should not the expenses have steadily decreased?

I believe the prison should to-day be and for a long time have been, not only on a paying basis, but should have yielded a handsome revenue to the State, if managed with such intelligence and economy as every successful business man bestows upon his own private affairs.

The item of State printing also shows how the public money is sometimes squandered. In 1853 the cost of the State printing was $202,494 39. In 1858 the rates allowed the State Printer were materially reduced; and in 1861 the cost was but $51,179 96; while in 1872 it had increased again to $133,031 12.

Now, if the cost in 1861 was barely an adequate compensation to the State Printer, the overcharge in 1853 must have been $171,314 43, and in 1872, $101,851 16. This is supposing the lessened cost of doing the work between 1853 and 1871 was equal to the increased amount of work required.

Our expenditures for military purposes in 1853 were $1892 50; in 1872, $54,915 79, and in 1873, $72,106 65.

THE MILITIA.

Of course we are all proud of our citizen soldiery; but, I believe, according to our population, our expenditures in this direction are quite unprecedented, in time of peace.

The cost of the care and maintenance of our insane has increased from $40,529 89 in 1862, to $200,000 in 1873; beside $102,529 89 expended in improvements, etc. It is scarcely probable the number of patients more than doubled in eleven years, while the cost of their maintenance was almost five times as much.

Now, while there is no true Californian who would not willingly part with his last dime, or divide his last crust, rather than one of these unfortunates should lack the least care or attention which the warmest Christian charity can give, or the most experienced medical skill can bestow, yet this furnishes no excuse for a waste of the people's money.

Time does not permit of my going more into detail in regard to State expenditures, but nearly the same rate of increase will be found in every department of the Government.

ENORMOUS TAXATION.

In 1851, on an assessment roll of $57,000,000, the State levy was but 50 cents on the $100, while in 1874, on an assessment roll of more than $600,000,000, or more than ten times as much, the levy was 65 cents on the $100. This levy raised more than $3,900,000. Add to this the receipts from miscellaneous sources, say $1,104,000, as in 1873, and we find the receipts into the State Treasury must have reached the enormous sum of $5,000,000. This is a very large amount to be drawn from the industries of 650,000 people in a single year for the support of the State Government alone.

Well may Controller Green in his last report have said:

"The high rate of taxation is operating and must continue to operate heavily against the growth, prosperity and development of the State; and unless some measures of retrenchment are adopted, and the rates of taxation reduced, there is reason to fear it will cause our population to decrease rather than increase. There are few farmers of limited means who are able to struggle through an occasional year of drought, and pay the heavy taxes that are imposed upon them. It is plain to me that the proper way to increase immigration is not by the appropriation of a few thousand dollars for the distribution of a few pamphlets, but by reducing the expenses of Government, and consequently the rates of taxation."

These are bold, manly and statesmanlike words, for which, as an humble tax-payer and bearer with you of the burdens of the State Government I most earnestly thank the Controller, though all unheeded was his counsel. Unheeded, I said, but perhaps this is a mistake, as it may be in consequence of these very words that the last Legislature only raised the State tax from 50 cents to 65 cents on the $100, or 30 per cent. If we turn from State to county expenditures the facts presented are still more astounding.

COUNTY TAXATION.

The total amount raised by taxation for county purposes in 1853 was $553,103 27; in 1862, $2,453,065 14; in 1871, nine years later, with little increase in our population, the amount raised was $4,850,876 37, or an increase of 100 per cent., while in 1872 it was $6,300,493 54, a further increase of nearly 50 per cent. in a single year.

For the last year I have not the figures, but am satisfied the amount fell little, if any, short of $8,500,000.

Why this great increase in the expenditures of the counties? Are their debts being discharged and paid? If so, we have little to complain of. Let us

see. In 1871 the funded and floating debt of the counties, amounted to $8,159,370; in 1872 they amounted to $10,041,294—an increase of $1,884,924, or more than 23 per cent., in a single year. I have shown that the increased taxation for that year amounted to nearly 50 per cent., and if we add to this the increased indebtedness, it shows an increased expenditure of 73 per cent., for that year over the preceding one. How long this shall continue depends on you, but how long it can continue without utter and hopeless bankruptcy is a problem not hard to solve, at least approximately.

Three years ago the county of Calaveras came forward with a proposition that the State should virtually assume the indebtedness of the county, which, strange to say, passed the Legislature, and met the Governor's approval. During the last session, El Dorado came forward with a like proposition, but not with like success. These propositions are of near kin to that said to have been made by Governor Walker of Virginia, that the General Government should assume the indebtedness of the States. This proposal startled the whole country. I would that it had awakened it to a realizing sense of the necessity of retrenchment everywhere.

The fact is, these men who have plundered the people, like the bandits of Italy, want an endorser on the paper of their victim, since they have no money, and are of questionable credit, having been so frequently robbed before.

If men are content to suffer tamely this robbery, they deserve but to be the serfs of their office holding rulers, and task masters. But if on the other hand, they are determined to be freemen and rule their State and County servants, stop robbery, rebuke incompetency, put down corruption, and prevent the waste of the peoples substance, they have but to say the word.

One united blast from the bugle horns of freedom will drive these hosts who fatten on the industries of the people from the places of trust they have abused, and of power they have used for their own aggrandizement, and not for the people's good; and possibly make honest citizens out of some of them.

STARTLING FIGURES.

Of course all those who in any way share in the plunder of which you are being robbed will unite in calling you reform howlers. They have already called me that, but it has not hurt me at all, or taken a hair's breadth from my stature.

But suppose you are content to let matters run on as now, continuing the same ratio of increase in taxation and expenditures, what will they amount to in 1880? Approximately the debt of the counties in that year will be $28,517,000, to say nothing of accumulating interest, while we will be paying about four times our present rate of taxation. Can you stand this? Will you stand it? It will be said the figures are speculative. They are based on the increase in expenditures in the past.

In the counties of Alameda, Contra Costa, Los Angeles, Marin, Monterey, Napa, San Joaquin, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Solano, Sonoma, Tulare and Yuba, the increase in taxation last year over the preceding one amounted to an average of thirty-five per cent. These are the only counties in which I have been able to learn the increase, but presume in the others it will rate about the same.

Now, let us see what State and County taxes have aggregated in the past, and will probably aggregate in the future.

In 1853 they aggregated $1,007,289 12; in 1862, $3,483,594 23; in 1872, $9,403,309 51. Should the same ratio of increase continue, we will be required to pay in 1880, for State and County purposes, the sum of $24,179,354 43.

The figures, startling as they are, do not, by any means show the amount drawn from the pockets of the people for State and county purposes; but to these must be added what is collected on licenses, poll and other taxes not collected on the general assessment roll. What these will amount to I have been unable to ascertain, but think they should not reach a less sum than $2,000,000 per annum.

I have been equally unable to ascertain the exact amount which was drawn from the people, and the industries on which the laboring masses depend, for State and county purposes last year, but am satisfied it did not reach a less sum than 13,500,000. I think it exceeded that amount. This is equivalent to a tax of $20 on every man, woman and child in the State, or $100 on every family of five persons.

If we add to all this the amount paid in the shape of fees, school districts, city and incorporated town taxes we can but be surprised at the ability of the people to meet them. Yet to all these crushing burdens even, there is added upon us in the country another tax often more oppressive than any or all these. I refer to the tax which corporations place upon us. We have assisted in building railroads and are still taxed to pay the indebtedness we have incurred on their account, while they often charge us exorbitant rates, and refuse to give us reasonable accommodations in the running of their trains, in supplying us with depots, and other means of transit and convenience.

Now, think you the people, in their majesty, wielding the State Government, cannot control their official servants and all corporations (the creatures of State power and sovereignty), preventing the one class from spending recklessly so much of their substance and regulating the traffic of the others with themselves, compelling them to do the people's business at reasonable rates and to furnish all reasonable accommodations, such as running frequent and sufficient trains, and the establishment of depots at all points where the business of the people demand their location, to save them the unnecessary expense and inconvenience of hauling their produce unnecessary distances. If they cannot do this they had better dissolve the State Government, and go back to a Territorial condition, as corporations disincorporate. If we cannot do either, we had better sell out, as California, instead of being a good State to emigrate to will be a first-class one to migrate from. A few years ago some gentlemen thought they had hit upon an easy solution of this question of taxation, for which they seemed to think themselves entitled to our lasting gratitude. According to the notion of these latter-day statesmen all our difficulties were to disappear through an increased assessment roll.

I don't know how it was in the cities, but in the country we did feel pretty well when we saw opposite our names, on the assessment roll, figures which indicated we were much richer than

we had supposed ourselves to be, and were somewhat inclined to assume a degree of consequence we had not felt before; but when we came to sell our surplus crops, what loose stock we had, and a favorite span of horses, to pay our taxes, our feathers were somewhat dampened; and the second year, when we had to mortgage our farms to pay them, the illusion burst like a bubble. We knew then that we were very poor. The whole and only idea of these bright luminaries has been, and is, how to secure more funds, how to find some new source of taxation.

It never seems to have occurred to them that the public funds are leaking, not only from bung and spigot, but through rat holes in every stave, and that the only way to begin is by coopering the old cask with a little healthy legislation, and by applying to the rats which are gnawing the holes a little still more healthy incarceration. How to increase the supply, how to increase the supply, has been their only thought and aim. Why there is not sap enough left in all the people to keep the old cask full, leaky as it is.

COMPARISON OF CALIFORNIA'S EXPENDITURES WITH OTHER STATES.

Comparisons are said to be odious, and they are sometimes troublesome, but often profitable, especially when they tend to show us more clearly our true position. Let us contrast the expenditures of California with those of some other States. I have been able to get the statistics of expenditure of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, Michigan, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Ohio, for the year 1863, but not entire for a later period. This is, however, near enough to the census year of 1870 to answer all purposes of comparison. The cost of the different State Governmen s, exclusive of interest payments on their public debts and improvements, was as follows:

	Expenses of Civil Government.	Pay of Governor	Pay of Secretary of State.	Pay of Attorney-General.	Pay of Controller	Pay of Treasurer
California.	$1 980.02	$700	$4,000	$4,000	$4,000	$4 000
Maine.....	*40 000	1 500	900	1,000	1,000	1,000
N Hamp..	115 111	1,000	800	1 80	none	600
Conn.....	223,004	1 000	1,000	none	1,000	1,000
R Island..	162 412	1 000	1,000	1,200	1,000	1,000
N. Jersey..	186,073	3 0 0	500	1,500	none	2,000
Vermont...	182 0 0	1 000	1,000	none	500	500
Michigan..	6 6 611	1 000	1,000	800	1,000	1,000
Kentucky..	659 652	2,500	1,000	5 0	2.000	1,700
Wisconsin	*1,46,586	1, 5	1,200	2,000	?.....	1,400
Iowa.....	344 649	2 000	2 000	1,300	1.3 0	.....
Maryland .	453 000 1	3 600	1.0 0	none	2 500	2 5 0
Mass.....	928 450	3 500	2.0 0	‡3 5 0	2,000	2 000
Penna.	1,0 7 443	4,000	1,7 0	3,000	1,700	1,700
Delaware ..	40 442	1.13	.....	none	.....	.....
Ohio, ...	1,826,6 5	1.8 0	1,4	1,400	1 200	1,500

The cost of the Civil Government of California is four and three-quarter times as much as Maine's, including the interest on her public debt; seventeen and one-quarter times as much as New Hampshire; eight and one-half times as much as Connecticut; eleven and three-quarter times as much as Rhode Island; ten and one-third times as much as New Jersey; ten and one-half times that of Vermont; two and three quarter times that of Michigan; two and three-quarter times that of Kentucky; one and three-quarters that of Wisconsin, including interest on her public debt; five and one-half that of Iowa; four and one-quarter that of Maryland; twice that of Massachusetts; one and three-quarters that of Pennsylvania; forty-seven and three-quarters that of Delaware, and one and one-eighteenth that of Ohio.

The per capita cost of these Governments, as compared with California, are: Maine, 18 per cent.; New Hampshire, 8; Connecticut, 12; Rhode Island, 21.2; New Jersey, 6; Vermont, 16; Michigan, 13; Kentucky, 14.2; Wisconsin, 29; Iowa, 28.2: Maryland, 14.2; Massachusetts, 18.2; Pennsylvania, 8.2; Delaware, 9.2; Ohio, 20—the average being 16 1-15, to say nothing of the difference in our currency, which would reduce the average to 14¼ per cent.

EXTRAVAGANT PAY TO STATE OFFICERS.

We pay our State officers more than four times as much as the average paid in these fifteen States; but the greater cost to the tax-payers arises from the large force of employés allowed to each, at salaries far above what principals get in these States. It costs more to support our State Prison than the entire cost of the Government of New Hampshire, while those of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and others, pay a profit to their respective States. It costs more to support our Insane Asylum than the entire cost of either of the State Governments of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Vermont or Delaware, and within $23 000 as much as that of Connecticut. The State Printing in California costs $34,959 more than the combined cost of the same service in seven States, viz: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Kentucky, Wisconsin and Ohio.

These figures need no comments from me to make them appreciable, or to demonstrate the great waste of money in the current expenses of our State Government. Yet, unfavorable as this comparison is to us, these States by no means present model Governments, as their expenditures could undoubtedly be largely reduced, with infinite benefit to their morale and relief to their taxpayers.

In looking over the expenses of the Legislature of Wisconsin for 1872, I noticed the fact that the 31 members of her Senate had 57 employés, while the 97 members of her Assembly had 78 employés, or five more in the Senate and Assembly than there were members of both Houses. To claim that one-fourth of these employés were necessary, would be to offer insult to common intelligence; and their employment shows how mindful the Legislature was of the shiftless, worthless hangers-on about its halls, and how wholly unmindful it was of the industrious masses, whose business energy, brawny hands and sturdy shoulders upheld the financial structure of the State. Yet with these, and all other necessary expenditures, the Legislative Department of Wisconsin cost only $112,326, against $277,000 for that of California. From other States, and in respect to other things, we may take more profitable lessons.

These fifteen States pay in the aggregate for the departments of their Attorney-Generals $18,000, an average of $1200 to each State. Massachusetts alone

allowing her Attorney-General the assistance of a clerk, at $1000 per annum. In 1873, we allowed our Attorney General a salary of $4000, a clerk at $1800, a porter at $600 for contingent expenses $150, and for expenses in suits in which the State was a party, $2181, making a liberal grand total of $8331.

But as I do not wish to be unfair in any criticisms I may make, and always prefer to err on the side of charity, I may, and probably ought to state, that it is possible there is not, in these States, any first-class legal ability, and our Attorney General may be as cheap at $8330 as the others are at $1200. While little Maine can pay more than $100,000 for pensions to her volunteer soldiers, and more than $75,000 in aid of soldier's families in a single year, she thinks $1500 sufficient for her own military establishment, while we pay for ours $72,000, or fifty times as much. Yet, small as Maine's expenditures for military purposes are, she was not behind in sending her regiments to the front when called upon, nor were her soldiers less effective than those of any other State. They received the storms and surges of battle in lines unbroken, and as stately as the pines of their mountains, and like them, only yielded their position when cut down.

Having contrasted our State expenditures with those of some other States, let us contrast some of our county expenses with those of the great State of Ohio.

Under a law requiring the State Auditor to report the amount received by the different county officers, he reports in 1869, viz:

That the Recorders in the 88 counties received in the aggregate	$103,039 77
The amount paid for clerk hire	21,445 70
Leaving a net average to each of	982 80
The Auditors received an average of	1,626 38
The Treasurers " " " "	1,678 88
The Sheriffs " " " "	1,287 37
The County Clerks received an average of	1,280 00
The Prosecuting Attorneys received an average of	600 60

Now, the corresponding officers in the fifty-three counties of California received more, it is safe to say, than five times as much as was paid in Ohio with her 2,000,000 of population in excess of ours.

Exactly how much we do pay these officers no living man can tell, as we have never yet had a law strong enough to secure from them a reliable report of their receipts.

Now, is it not evident to the common sense of every man, that there is no earthly necessity for such large expenditures in California over those of other States of far greater population.

There is no such difference in the employment of capital, or the rewards of labor. If there was such a difference the older States would be impoverished and depopulated, and California would be flooded with their money and filled to overflowing with their population.

HOW TO EFFECT RADICAL REFORMS.

No; what we want is a genuine and radical reform; not one which will reduce the cost of our State and County Governments ten per cent., or twenty per cent, or thirty per cent, but sixty per cent.

We want this not alone to relieve the industries of the State which are being prostrated, nor the taxpayers who are being robbed and plundered, but also in the interest of public morality and good government. There is nothing better understood by those who are accustomed to watch with care public morals than that frequent and shameless speculations in office, especially where those who practice them are well received, and even courted, by society, tend to undermine all public morality, by making men familiar with this sort of crime, and by that familiarity lessening their abhorrence of it.

Again, official corruption often compels men either to sacrifice their business on which they depend for their own and their families support, or become parties to criminal acts. To illustrate: The expenditures of the late war have made high duties on imports, and high Internal Revenue taxes on some kind of manufactures necessary. Now, if the dishonest merchant is allowed to undervalue his merchandise, or to resort to any other device by which he escapes the payment of the import duties fixed by law, how can the honest merchant compete with him, or what escape has he from insolvency, except to resort to the same criminal practices? Is it not also true that the manufacturer may find himself in the same position? Take for example those articles on which the Government tax is greater than the cost of manufacturing. Suppose one man is only required to pay the tax on one-half the amount he manufactures, what honest man could compete with him?

Some, to their credit he it said, suffer loss and destruction of business pursuits, rather than sacrifice their integrity, while others are drawn into this maelstrom of corruption. Thus this cancer upon the body politic is fed on new blood and new life until it has become too hideous to look at, too large, almost, with his infinite ramifications, for the surgeon's knife, and yet, unless extirpated, and that speedily, it threatens to eat out every vital principle of moral integrity.

Can a healthier condition be brought about? Yes. And let not the proud commercial mistress of the Pacific forget the lesson taught her by Rome, the former mistress of the world. While Rome's officers were honest and her people pure, her military leaders were unconquerable, her legions invincible; but when corruption became the rule, and familiarity with had, morally debauched her people, she fell an easy prey to ignorant barbarians who were strong alone in their integrity.

To-day, under blessings of Divine Providence, we are free from foreign and domestic strife, and it should be the first duty of every patriot who would bequeath to his children a government worthy of their inheritance, to correct these evils which so seriously threaten to destroy its moral foundations, and thus the edifice itself, inasmuch as it can stand on no other ground, and would not be worth the possessing if it could.

This demand of patriotism should rise above every personal and partisan consideration.

The united press of the State can correct all these evils if it will; and you, who have wealth, influence, and numbers, can correct them if you will.

To you the farmer turns his sad and wistful eyes from parched fields, with an imploring look that you will assist in lifting all unnecessary burdens from him. As it is now, he must with weary limbs glean the last kernel from his seared crops, that too many who are both worthless and dishonest, may fatten at the public crib, while his own children if they do

not want bread, must suffer the greater want of education, which is lifelong starvation of the mind—the better part of man. Will you who are the present sovereigns of the City and State assist these men to gain a victory over wrong and oppression? A victory which through dilligence may result in a permanent blessing.

As for me I am ready to coöperate with any class of people who will give satisfactory guarantees to correct these abuses, whether they call themselves Democrats, Dolly Vardens, or Republicans, or whether they constitute a spontaneous uprising of the people without name or leaders, or drill sergeants.

But, if I stand alone, I am determined to do what one can do to right these wrongs—to prevent these poisonous currents from longer mingling with the pure stream of Republican liberty, so that its votaries may freely drink at its fountains, and bathe in its limpid waters, without danger of defilement.

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*Including interest.

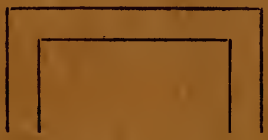
†Pay of Clerk ($1000) included.

‡Secretary of State ex-officio Controller.

SIX ADDRESSES

ON

Righteous Citizenship



Delivered at the Annual Noon-day Lenten Services for Business Men held by the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, California, March Twenty-first to March Twenty-sixth, Anno Domini, Nineteen Hundred and Four.

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ON

RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP

Brotherhood of St. Andrew

In the Office - - - - DR. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

In the Shop - - - - MR. WALTER MACARTHUR

In the Home - - - REV. FREDERICK W. CLAMPETT, D.D.

In Public Spirit - - - - DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN

In the Vote - - - - THE HON. NORTON P. CHIPMAN

In the Church - - - THE RT. REV. W. F. NICHOLS, D.D.

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RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP IN THE OFFICE.

BY

DR. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.
President of the University of California

The call to the exercise of citizenship was never so clear as today and here. There never was a nation or society whose fate was made to depend so directly on the quality of citizenship as this state and society of ours. There never was a time in the history of this nation when the need of intelligent and patriotic service was so keenly felt. The sudden enlargement of the field of national purpose has introduced new problems which concern the foundations of government. The sudden piling of wealth has introduced a contrast of conditions and a shifting of social relations involving the entire fabric of society. The sudden broadening and intensifying of intercommunication have revealed possibilities in the organization of wealth and of work that make the old fashioned freeman to fold his cloak in awe about him. The sudden widening of vision and enrichment of knowledge coupled with new homes, new works, new ways have twisted old faiths from their foundations and disturbed the sanctions of the holiest laws. New endeavors on new seas! The compass quits the star! Old confidences fail! Perhaps there is no North or South; perhaps there is, men dare to think, no right or wrong, but only the savage law of violence, whereby he who can is right. Society and state wherever

they have existed in the history of humankind have arisen and been maintained through some form, however crude, of the conception that life has purposes larger than can be expressed in the momentary wants and satisfactions of the individual. The consciousness that an individual life is part of some greater whole is the impulse to that attitude we call religion, out of which and not without which arise society and the state. Society, as history has known it, never has existed and never can exist on the purely economic, *i. e.,* the selfish, bread-and-butter, basis; it must claim sacrifice, it must appeal in some form or measure to that religious instinct we call by various names, but recognize most surely in patriotism, public spirit, and good citizenship.

Righteous citizenship is the knowing of right and wrong in the things of public life, is the recognition of right and wrong in the relations of individual life to the life of the commonwealth. I am to speak here today of the call to righteous citizenship that rings through the office and the counting room and lays its commands of duty upon those who sit in the places of trust and responsibility for the management of institutions and of business affairs. They are the men who most often shrink from contact with politics lest they become entangled to the hurt of their private interests; and yet they are the men most often of whose counsel and aid the state has need. They are all too often the men who shut their ears to the call for public service because of engrossment in private aims; but the public interests cannot afford to lose them, and they cannot afford to abstain. Public office is a public trust, but there is no private office which does not involve its public duties and responsibilities.

It is the man of the business office who is most likely to shun political duties lest his garments be besmirched, for politics is forsooth a "dirty pool." Can these men not be aroused to see that nothing which is involved in the sacred duties of American citizenship can be called common or unclean.

It is the man of the business office who is heard to say, "I am sticking to business and letting politics alone. I will not imperil my business interests by incurring enmities incident to taking a decided position on public questions. I will not waste my time and divide my thought by attention to such matters. There is nothing

in it for me." This is the common voice of that blighting private mindedness which is the dry rot of society and of political communities. It means selfishness and narrowness and stagnation. It means the commitment of political affairs to the hands of ignorance and corruption.

The call to citizenship is by no means a call to candidacy for public office. The best citizens are commonly those who have no eye upon office or its emoluments. It is a call to appreciation of the noble inheritance left us by our fathers, and to recognition of responsibilities incurred through the inheritance.

It is a call to the man who sits in the office to recognize that even that wealth he calls his own exists by virtue of society and the state and is in reality a trust committed to his care. Still clearer and more emphatic is it to the man who controls wealth to which society has given that form of possession we call the corporation. It is not good citizenship, it is not righteous citizenship when the man of the corporation counting-room exclaims: "I will do with mine own as I will, and the public be damned." The corporation is created by the public and must be administered in harmony with the public good.

It is not righteous citizenship when the masters of a corporation chartered to do a public work yield to public need and convenience only what is extorted by clamor and struggle. Their duty by virtue of their opportunities of knowledge is to anticipate needs and foresee conveniences; it is a duty inhering in their tenure of a public trust. And it is not only good citizenship, it is better business so to do. Good citizenship and large-minded, far-seeing business-likeness go hand in hand. It is the mean business spirit and the bad citizenship that wraps its talent of public trust in a napkin and hides it in the earth.

It is not righteous citizenship when the man of the office, the corporation master, extorts from those who labor for him all the strength his position will allow without remembering that he and they are colaborers, and that he by his position holds a trust for them. It is not righteous citizenship when the man of the office says to his employees who ask a hearing that "there is nothing to arbitrate." There is always something to arbitrate among us who are set here to

live together in society as brothers and children of a common Father. We are set here to talk together and try to understand each other. The soul of life is the living together. He lives the largest life who has the largest sympathies, who has gained the largest power to see from the point of view of others.

The call to citizenship as it comes to the ears of the man of the office is a call to public-mindedness, to a larger, freer, nobler conception of his duty toward the community and the commonwealth. The solution of the grievous questions which agitate the social body to-day and threaten the divisions of society by fixed lines of occupation and status into organized belligerent camps cannot come by violence and the assertion of might; it cannot come in terms of dollars, nor by tables of statistics, nor by much reading of many books in the sciences of money and values; it must come through human patience guided by human interest and human sympathy toward the understanding of each others point of view. This means that it cannot come out of any form of that view of life which estimates life in terms of self and in terms of the day. It can come, so far as I can see, only in the spirit of that larger view we call religion, the religion plain, simple, old-fashioned, by which our fathers and mothers lived and died, the religion which guaranteed the family and home under which we have been sheltered and which inspired the founders of our State, the religion of Jesus Christ which bids us to live not for ourselves alone, but to remember we are bought with a price, the religion which proclaims him to be first among us who gives himself freest service of all.

RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP IN THE SHOP.

BY

MR. WALTER MACARTHUR.

Editor of "The Coast Seaman's Journal"

We shall be doing no violence to the subject, indeed we shall be taking no liberties with it, if we translate it so as to read "Righteousness in Labor"—righteousness in the relations of labor—in the relations between employers as such and between employes as such.

As it is true that by labor alone do we live, so it is true that just as the conditions of labor—the conditions under which labor is performed—are righteous or unrighteous, so also must all the conditions of life be righteous or unrighteous.

I use the term "labor" in no narrow sense; I use it not as a class, but as a generic term, implying all the methods—all the right methods—all the truly productive methods—by which men derive their sustenance from the earth.

Labor is the fundamental condition of life. The relations of labor are the fundamental relations of life. If righteousness in all the spheres of life is to be achieved, it must be achieved primarily through, and rest ultimately upon, righteous relations in labor.

The future is bound up in the solution of the problem of labor. To the man of unrighteousness—the man governed by the narrow spirit of selfishness—the man governed by the purely economic ideal—the future of labor and of society is dark and menacing. To such a man, there is little or no hope for the future. We find men of that

character arrayed against the laborer, denying to him, or seeking to deny to him, the poor boon of organization, a privilege won by labor through years, aye, generations and centuries, of struggle—a right which the employe as such derives from the nature of his being, and which he holds under the divinely ordained law of universe. We find the employer of narrow, selfish and short-sighted aims seeking to destroy the organizations of labor under the specious guise of the "Open Shop."

Upon analysis, we find that the "Open Shop" ideal of the relations of labor is a shop that is open only to the elements that would destroy the organizations of labor. There is nothing to be hoped from that method of treating the so-called problem of labor, the greatest problem of this or any other time, the problem in which the whole future of our society—of the social relations of the world—is inseparably wrapped up.

To the man of righteous views and of righteous character, the future presents an entirely different aspect. There is nothing in the outlook of the man who treats the question which we are discussing from the righteous, from the right, from the sane and rational point of view, but hope—indeed, certainty—that in the near future, righteousness shall prevail in all the relations of labor.

The basic element of the problem before us is the old element of fair play. With fair play upon all sides, the so-called unsolvable problem of labor melts and disappears, and becomes no problem at all. In the difficulties now surrounding us in this connection neither factor is entirely blameless nor altogether blameworthy. No one, regardless of what side his personal interests may lie upon, will assume to say that his side has all the right, and that the other side has all the wrong involved in a labor dispute. We recognize as sane and sensible men, that there is wrong upon both sides in the present treatment of the problem of the relations of labor. Recognizing that, we also recognize that there are errors in method upon both sides—upon the side of the employe in his organized capacity, and upon the side of the employer in his organized capacity—errors committed as the outgrowth of hard feeling and of prejudice, of ignorance, of inexperience and of a wrong and unrighteous point of view.

We recognize, consequently, that the solution of the problem and of the many difficulties with which it is surrounded—difficulties that seem from our present point of view to be insurmountable—depends upon our knowledge of the real nature of these difficulties, upon getting the right point of view, upon recognizing the right on each side and the wrong on each side, and upon agreeing to accept the spirit of reciprocity and to render due consideration to the interests of the respective factors in the matters of the relations of labor.

The Romans had a saying:

Laborare est orare—Labor is worship.

That saying exemplifies the religious character of labor. I welcome with respect and reciprocate with pleasure the sentiment expressed from this platform yesterday, that the labor problem cannot be solved upon purely economic grounds; that if it is to be solved at all, finally and permanently, it can be solved only upon ethical or religious grounds.

The labor problem—the struggle of men to secure just return for their labor—is primarily a religious struggle. We know that in the early days, the movement of the workers as such originated in their revulsion against the Pagan conception which relegated the man who worked to the category of the beasts of the field. We know that it was Christ the Saviour, Christ the Carpenter, who first breathed into the nostrils of labor the truth that all men were created equal in the sight of God, the truth that the man who welded the sword was equal to the man who wielded that or any other weapon, in the sight of the Creator of all men.

We know that it was the example of the Savior which inspired the hope of the working classes of the world, and that it is that example which to-day inspires the men and women of all classes who would honestly solve the problem of labor. It is upon the example and under the leadership of Christ the Savior that we hope and believe we shall ultimately solve the labor problem.

Those who associate constantly or at intervals with men in all ranks of life, who are acquainted with the spirit that actuates the labor movement, will bear me out in saying that it is essentially, primarily and fundamentally a religious movement. We take the words

and the works of the Saviour as our guide in our efforts to bring about amicable, just and righteous relations between the employer and employe, between all the factors engaged in that primary function of mankind, labor.

San Francisco, March 22, 1904.

RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP IN THE HOME.

BY

REV. FREDERICK W. CLAMPETT, D. D.

Rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco

A great writer in our modern days, in speaking of our social life, has said that the two sweetest words in the English tongue—the two words that strike home most closely to human affection—are the words MOTHER and HOME. No matter how robust and strong may be the man, no matter how old the age or tender in years, there is no word that appeals to him more than that which brings the association of MOTHER.

Home is the most loving spot upon earth. When adversity comes and tears away his honor, man goes back into his castle, and there he is in his supreme place. The law cannot step in—no person dare cross the threshold of that door; it is the treasure of man himself and the protection of his family. It is not simply the most loving place in all the world, but it is the most natural.

The world in which we live is filled with convention and socialism. We strive to appear to the best advantage to the men and women we meet, but the moment we cross the threshold of that door, man and woman is just what he is and she is—nothing more—nothing less. If I want to test a man's character, I will not do it in the stock exchange; I will not do it in the church; I will not do it in the social life—I will do it exactly as he lives under his roof. I would

test the man by his faithfulness as a husband and his purity as a father—a woman by her fidelity to truth, her gentleness and politeness. The home life is the place that develops all these powers. But these things I merely mention—such as the home in its affection, and the home in its naturalness. The most important place in God's earth is the home in point of general truth. I think the subject intrusted to me should have been the first subject of the whole series, because it deals with the conditions of all life. The citizen that would start into it right must be true unto life, and the man who would develop into true citizenship in the world outside, must begin with truth and purity in the home life; and no man who shows a difference of character in this respect can hope for the best in life. In other words, the home must be the spot from which will spring all the great qualities—all the great qualities that go to make up what is called in this place, Righteous Citizenship.

Now, I am going to deal with the subject of home in a threefold light. First, I want to plead for its sanctity. The churches to-day are not alive, as they ought to be, to this phase of what is called home life. The laxity of the marriage tie is to-day one of the saddest afflictions of our civilization. The ease with which men, by the law of the state, can dissolve the union with the woman that they brought to the altar, where the words fell: "For better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, until death do us part," is an affliction of any state, and is one of the awfulest blights resting to-day on this Republic.

And when you remember that in the community in which we now live for every seven marriages there is one divorce, you can appreciate the fact that the sanctity of home life is not received in its true proportion. I will say here, and say it with a great deal of pleasure, that to the glory of the Roman Catholic Church, be it said, she maintains the grandest standard of the day in which we live for the sanctity of the marriage tie. There you will not find this awful condition of life, which is a blight on many of the sects outside of our church. Many men and women separate purely on the ground of incongeniality—where there is no lack of loyalty. These things are a sad blight on the life which we now live. I am bound by a canon of our Episcopal church to decline to marry the innocent party

to a divorce, except where it is granted for infidelity duly proven in court; and I will say now as a clergyman of the Episcopal Communion, that I am shocked at the way in which the Protestant churches lay hold of this question, and bring them into marriage again. Oftentimes a couple that leaves my house where I refuse to marry them for the reason that adultery was not proven, pass from my door to a Protestant minister and they are married without the slightest hesitation. We want the churches to act with good force, and to act in harmony upon this one question; for I tell you men, not until the question of marriage and divorce is properly settled—not until the sanctity of home life is understood by the civilized community—not until you respect the marital tie—can you ever hope to have the home in its true place.

There is great danger to the home, and there are two things leading up to it: First, the growing tendency to live in hotels in the community in which we live; to live in flats and in apartment houses. We are not, on this Pacific Coast, enjoying home life as in eastern cities like Philadelphia, where the smallest wage-earners own their own homes, and pay by installments for them—where they have a property interest in the real estate on which they live. With us here, the whole atmosphere of the home is against true civilization. There is a practice resorted to in the community to-day to prevent life—to prevent offspring—which is a blight on the sanctity of the holy life. You talk to the doctors of the land—talk to our real estate men on the subject; put the question to them, What is the percentage of children you have there representing this house? and you will find not one per cent. of children as the offspring of those homes. And in our Episcopal marriage ceremony, we have omitted that statement in the English Book of Common Prayer, which says marriage was ordained for the procreation of children.

To-day, if a man happens to be the honest father of five or six children, the ordinary man or woman laughs at the idea, as if offspring was not a thing of nature. I want that sanctity, and I trust in God that the churches of San Francisco will arise and come to some union in regard to married life; for I tell you if the present condition continues, we shall be little better than the Mormons. Dr. McKim of

Washington has termed it "Progressive Polygamy." We differ very little from the Mormons, the only difference being that the Mormons get their wives in a bunch, and we get them in geometric progression. Not until this condition is overcome will the sanctity of the home be realized.

Again, it is in the home we learn our reverence; and the great lack of reverence of home to-day is against the qualities of true citizenship. In the country where I was reared and trained, the boy was held under the authority of his parents up to the age of twenty-one. He looked to them for knowledge—as towers of strength—appealed to them for counsel—for the very word of permission was necessary for any step taken in life. Contrast that condition with the life in which you live—in which young boys mock the parental strength, and try to do for themselves before they have the right or the power. Young girls will thrust their parents in another room, that they may have their reception; that they may be the mistress of their own house. There is an absolute failure of the spirit of reverence, which is against the qualities of true citizenship. What is the result? Where boys are not trained in the home, they pass to the university, and irreverence to the parents is irreverence to the college president. There is the same spirit of disloyalty, the same spirit of hazing, of vulgarity and roughness. There is danger that they will not respect the alma mater; that they will not have reverence for the very walls of the university. When they come from the university to the greater life, that respect for law, which is one of the deepest foundations of true citizenship, will then be lacking. O, we want this respect! Bishop Potter of New York told a story of this irreverent spirit that is well worth repeating. He was passing from Washington to New York, and he stopped off at Baltimore to pay his respects to a Roman Catholic lady of many years acquaintance with him. He found this lady and the Roman Catholic Archbishop engaged in conversation. Presently, a little boy, the son of this lady, without hesitancy entered the room and made a disturbance. The lady went over to him and said: "Little child, the Archbishop is here, and you must be quiet." Instead of obeying, he just stepped up in front of the Archbishop and said, "Hello, Archie; how do you

do, Archie!"—absolute disrespect—no idea of what was due to the Cardinal and prelates of the state. And I tell you this is too true of the day in which you live. Talk of citizenship! we want men to respect and revere law, and if that is going to happen in the greater world outside, it must begin in the home life. When I look at those boys growing up around me in this city, and listen to the language they bring home from the public schools—language which would shock you, and language which they do not understand the meaning of—language that is indecent and horrifying, I want to say it is wrong for those boys to make law for themselves—to be their own masters.

So one of the greatest responsibilities that belongs to the home life to-day is to have men train the child life to reverence the powers that are.

You take the men who have been Presidents of the United States for the last two or three terms; take men like President Roosevelt, whom you remember we had the pleasure of listening to two or three years ago: I read a sketch of that life; and the love of that man for his mother and his father! the power with which that life was lived in marital relations! And when that man became Police Commissioner of New York, though the law was weak, he said they must respect it as it was, and he made the policemen of New York respect it. And when he was Governor of New York, he brought the same power to bear; and to-day, thank God, as Chief Executive of these United States, he is the same magnificent character, with respect for superiors, respect for law, respect for higher power. We want this in the home, and finally, we want men who are strong in the greater world outside not only to bring this reverence into it, but to bring the bond of true affection. You would be surprised, men, if you knew what I know, as a clergyman, of the awful shadows that are crossing the threshold of many homes in this city—of the unhappiness and misery of which you know nothing—that is blinded to the world. A husband and wife are walking down street with one or two children, and you think they are in happy marital relationship, but they are living the lives of cats and dogs under their roof—men not speaking to their wives. There is a lack of that gentleness and that affection and that beautiful manly force that should be seen to-day in the community in which we live.

There is one lesson I would like to bring to you, for I am speaking only to men, and as a married man and the father of six boys: One thing we want is gentleness in citizenship toward the weaker vessel; to be kind and to be tender and to be loving to the one whom we brought to the altar; for no matter how high may be your attainments, and no matter how you may be adored outside, in the club, or in the commercial life, if you fail there before that woman that yielded everything to you, you are not worthy the name of a citizen in the highest and best type. May God grant to us those qualities, that we may have a greater respect for the sanctity and the blessedness and the responsibilities and the privileges of the home, and that in that home, we may so live that the outer life will only be a reflection of the life that is lived under the roof.

San Francisco, March 23, 1904.

RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP IN PUBLIC SPIRIT.

BY

DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN.

President of the Leland Stanford Jr. University

I am asked to make a little lay sermon this afternoon on the subject of Righteousness in Public Spirit. It is fortunate that I am not asked to practice what I preach; that is a very much harder thing.

I shall take as a sort of text to what I have to say, certain words of Emerson:

"The world is upheld by good men; they make the earth wholesome."

Now, what we mean by Righteousness, I take it, is doing right; moving right; doing now the thing that ought to be done now, not doing something that ought to be done some future day. It involves going in wherever one is commanded to go; not simply staying put in the right place, wherever he may be put by the state, or by the church, or trades union or any other organization. I take it that righteousness is active—moving—that there is nothing in righteousness which remains in its place—which can be fastened with any certainty of finding it there when you go back.

Righteousness is also doing the thing which is individually right for us. There may be a great many things for somebody else to do for the human race, but our duty is to do the things that belong to us. Wisdom, I have said a good many times, is knowing what one

ought to do next; not knowing the whole universe, but knowing what you and I ought to do, not at some indefinite time, but now—the next thing before us in the natural line of action. Wisdom is knowing this; Virtue is doing it.

And I take it that religion has largely at least to do with the reason why a man ought to do something, and why that particular thing ought to be the right thing and not some other thing; that the things which in providence ought to be done are the things which you do.

We must not believe that things go right of themselves; they do not. The world is upheld by good men. The world is moving fast, and we want to keep moving it in the right direction. It will move right or wrong only as right men of the right spirit take hold and move it right. We must not leave the pushing to any one that comes along. The reason why things have gone so well in the civilized world, is because so many righteous men have shown their willingness to push hard, and do the right thing.

I take it, too, that a righteous man respects himself, because he has done things that are worthy of his own respect. I heard a righteous man say some time ago, referring to idle criticism:

"I can get along without the respect of any of my neighbors, but I can't get along without the respect of number one."

Without his own respect, he could not be righteous. In public spirit there must be the interest of personal righteousness. I heard a business man say this mornig, that what public-spirited men most need is personal honesty—that absolute certainty that every one he is connected with is acting with a spirit of helpfulness—not any intent of personal gain. Personal honesty must be at the bottom of any successful movement.

Public spirit is the activity the individual shows in matters of general concern. It is not public spirit for a man to act solely in the interest of his own business—to do only the things that are going to benefit him. Public spirit involves voluntary action. There is no public spirit in being taxed for a thing, without being represented in the taxing power. To pay one's taxes in his absence may be a very proper thing to do, but it cannot be called public spirit. To be an

inert part of an association implies no public spirit. It is public spirit when we put into the matter our individual force. The public spirit is the willingness of the man himself—his own love—his own will in doing the proper thing.

We have to do all the time with two classes of interests; that of the individual man and the public concern. In all public matters, these must be conciliated. We have to deal all the time with the development of the individual man and the development of the state. The individual interests of a man do not always harmonize with his public interests. There have always been two distinct tendencies in public affairs. The one would magnify the individual; the other would exalt the state. Both tendencies are right and necessary. We must not overlook the fact that a man as an individual is individually responsible in working out his own salvation. At the same time, the spirit of individuality carried to extremes results in making social life a battle in which the "Devil takes the hindmost," and often the foremost also. Individuality carried to excess becomes anarchy. We must consider society and the services we render in common for our common satisfaction. These services require a very large part of our time and our money, but by their means we exalt the state, help the individuals, maintain the church, continue the organization.

Church, state, and most other organizations serve good purposes, and it is good policy to do our part, that the common good may be accomplished; for men without the help of the state, without the help of society and the help of friends—without the security of these, there is very little the individual man can do—every experience in life would be a hold-up. You remember James Whitcomb Riley says:

"No man is great till he can see
How less than little he would be
If all alone and stark and bare
He hung his sign out anywhere."

On the other hand, if we under-rate the individual; if we merely make him an inert unit; if we let society run over him and destroy his personality, he has no place for growth—no chance to develop motive power—no way to display his public spirit.

The moving power in society is the work of individual men. The growth of our Republic has been largely due to the efforts of individual men. Men build up society—men make history. There will always be the struggle between altruism and egoism—between collectivism and individualism.— This is inherent in the nature of things. Each man will have his own will, his own purposes, his own demands. He is a part of society. He makes society, and society in turn reacts on him and makes him. Individualism will never be triumphant, because to make society is one of the greatest functions of the individual. On the other hand, Socialism will never be dominant, for it can exist through the co-ordinated wills of the individuals.

It was said by Aristotle, it is right that the state should undertake all matters of common interest which can be better done by working together than by individual enterprise. This is a principle of great importance. We must do individually the things which can be best done that way—with the best result to the interest itself and to the individuals concerned. And we must do collectively those things which can best be done through common effort; that is, by public spirit.

Wisdom is knowing what one ought to do next, and Virtue is doing it. I have no sympathy with those who believe all things must be done by public effort alone—that the individual should be left out of the calculation—no individual effort—no individual enterprise. On the other hand, I have not any sympathy with people who believe nothing should be done by joint effort. Certainly by common effort we maintain the roads, the schools, the jails, the methods of sanitation. If each man kept his own road, maintained his own jail, established his personal cemetery, we should soon be plunged into barbarism. In the direction of safe control of matters of common interest, we have the progress of civilization. On the other hand, some things can be better done by individual effort than by public enterprise. A man can sow his own grain, can bake his own bread, can make his own clothing or contract with some one else to do it, better than the state can do it for him.

A man who is lost in the mass does not have public spirit.

Public spirit is shown in things done and in things prevented. There are positive things to be done, and there are wrongs to be checked. It is through our public spirit that we have abolished slavery in the United States. Through public spirit we shall save our forests, and we shall do away with child labor—with sweat shops and with the spoils system in politics. Such things the public spirited men of the country are doing. Our work is not yet finished—much not yet begun—but every stroke counts. All these are positive things—the work of men of positive action. Righteousness is a matter of action; it is just as necessary to have men to prevent wrong action, as to lead in any worthy enterprise. The prevention of war, of wicked war—and most wars are wicked, that is a thing for noble spirited men to do, even if they have to take the great bull of the public by the horns in doing so. It was Franklin who said, "All wars are bad, but some are worse than others."

Just now, the tendency we most need to stand against is that toward disregard of law. We have lawlessness at times on the part of the wealthy, the great corporations. They outrage our money, though they rarely do violence to our persons. We have lawlessness on the part of the poor, when banded together to accomplish results, regardless of rights of persons and property alike. We need men who will stand up and be counted in the minority if need be against lawlessness of whatever kind, and under whatever guise. Lawlessness, whatever form it may take, is treason against our Republic. If the law is wrong, the thing to do is to repeal it. To do this is lawful, but it is not lawful to burn and kill those who disagree with us.

If the people are individually interested in the affairs of the Nation, they will take care of themselves. Mr. Irish has lately quoted from Senator Bayard this pertinent sentence:

"The people of the United States are too self-willed, independent and self-centered to be ruled over by anybody but themselves."

We want people who cannot be ruled over by anybody but themselves; whatever they do together is a manifestation of public spirit. When men move by some power other than themselves, this power is some one else's personal interest—it is a movement for selfishness. That is the way we develop political bosses—just as the absence of the

people's will fills the thrones in the old world with kings. A monarchy arises where men have not the right or the power to think for themselves. I do not refer to constitutional monarchy; the people of England rule themselves as much as the people of America. The difference between a republic and a monarchy of the old-fashioned sort is simply this: In the republic the people rule; in the monarchy—in the old sort—the people are left out, because they have no will. And wherever the people have no individual will, you will find some sort of a king or boss, who uses his own individual interest as the motive power in their affairs. You sometimes say the boss governs the people better than the people do it themselves. So they do, but that is not the question. The people must act in their own way, else they cease to be a free nation. We want restored to the people's hands those things that belong to the people. In the face of a public question, we may ask the question of Selfishness: What is this movement going to do for me? Or we may take the point of view of Emotionalism: My heart bleeds for this, that or the other thing; I yearn for its success. The emotionalist is like a train that goes off the track. His acts are full of feeling, but he accomplishes nothing. Or we may take the point of view of destructive criticism: The way this thing is done does not please us. Nothing will please. This man who is in the van has soiled his collar; another has disarranged his hair; we cannot work with him. All action involves compromises, and each one must judge for himself what compromises he can afford. Some men judge all actions by preconceived theories. They have decided beforehand what ought to be, and they will have nothing else. They cling to their preconceived notions, right or wrong, without looking to the right or to the left—without looking to the circumstances that govern. Such men sometimes are great moralists. Sometimes they are hopeless cranks, but whether moralists or cranks, they seldom accomplish much.

The man of action—the man of public spirit—does the best he can under the circumstances. If he cannot accomplish the one thing he has chosen, he takes the best that is permitted and tries again. If we cannot get all, get part—get something better and then try again.

It was said of Lincoln, that cooling passion, he ever counted

the cost. Those things which cost more than they were worth must wait till in the good time of providence they come within rational reach.

In public affairs, devoted opportunism is the line of wisdom. The thing to do, the reform to achieve, is the one that is ripe for accomplishment. It is civic wisdom to know it; it is civic virtue to do, and the watch as well as the act are both manifestations of righteous public spirit.

San Francisco, March 24, 1904.

RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP IN THE VOTE.

BY

THE HON. NORTON P. CHIPMAN.
Commissioner, Supreme Court of California

I am sure you will share my regret that Governor Pardee, who was chosen to speak to you on the topic of the day, was unable to respond. As his substitute, I can do no less than read to you, before I begin what I shall have to say, from his letter addressed to Mr. George H. Andruss, under date of the 11th instant:

"I feel that the matter you wish to have me speak about, viz., 'Righteous Citizenship in the Vote,' is of such great importance as to invite, even command, the attention of every man who is interested in the matter of good government. Too many of our people (to their shame and ours be it said) neglect entirely the duties of citizenship. And upon them should the condemnation be visited as much as upon those whom they condemn for what is wrong in our governmental affairs. Public business is everybody's business, and, therefore, everybody should be interested in it; interested enough to do his duty; interested enough to vote. Anybody who does not do that is not a good citizen, and his laxness ought to be considered almost as treason against the state."

The subject for the ten minutes address to-day is "Righteous Citizenship in the Vote." The four previous sub-divisions of the main subject for discussion, have been so satisfactorily presented, that

little remains to be said of civic duty. If the citizen comes up to the ideals already pointed out for him in the office, in the shop, in the home and in public spirit, he may be safely trusted to show good citizenship in his vote. Unfortunately, however, he may be upright and blameless in any one or all of these four relations in life, and yet wholly neglect his duty at the polls, and thus omit one of his most important obligations to society.

Righteous citizenship in the vote is of paramount importance in this country where not only all power not delegated remains with the people, but where all delegated power is exercised either directly by agents chosen by the people at the polls, or by agents appointed by agents thus selected.

Practically speaking, it may be said that all the functions of government, legislative, executive and judicial, are performed by agents who derive their authority from the vote of the indiscriminate mass who constitute the electors.

Necessarily, the agent is much fettered in the freedom and independence of his action, for he must look to a fickle constituency for the approval of his conduct, and he is at all times conscious that there are sinister influences always at work to minimize the value of his services, and scheming to compass his defeat for re-election. He must labor in constant dread of being misunderstood and misjudged, and with little hope of being appreciated.

Not only does this fact seriously impair the usefulness of the agent, but it has a decidedly deterrent effect in preventing good men from becoming candidates for office.

But let us look at the duty of voting in the light of the concrete facts which surround the polls. In the first place, it is practically impossible to become a candidate except upon the nomination of some organized political party. Nominations are made by conventions whose members are usually chosen by ballot at the primaries. The primary vote does not designate the candidate or candidates to be chosen; it simply determines the make-up of the body which names the candidates. The citizen has no choice, but must vote for the candidate presented by the convention of one or other of the organized parties. In the convention the selection of the candidates is open to

all sorts of abuses and corrupt combinations and barter of delegations.

This brings me to the point of stating that Righteous Citizenship in the vote begins at the primaries. It is idle to hope for the selection of the best men for the office as a rule, unless good men are chosen to select the candidates. I recall an occasion in this city when the entire delegation to a state convention was chosen upon a pledge demanded and made by each delegate before he could be chosen, that he would "vote programme." One man held all the votes of the delegation, and with this trading body of men, this one man was able to name the entire state ticket, with one exception. I remember an instance when another state convention, chosen mainly at the primaries, almost defeated a candidate for a very high office, by this method of barter and sale, who at the polls received the highest vote cast for any candidate, showing that the convention came very near defeating the choice of the people.

My purpose in mentioning these typical examples is to show that righteous citizenship in the vote requires, under our system, the present and active influence of every good citizen at the primaries, and, where delegates to nominating conventions are otherwise chosen, as it sometimes happens in the country districts, the good citizen should attend and make his influence felt in thus selecting the delegates.

In order also to have an untrammeled expression in the convention, and to make the convention a deliberate body, as it should be, and to put an end to the baleful practice of making barter of delegations, to carry out the programme of a cabal, I would introduce the Australian ballot in the convention, thus securing the independent expression of each delegate, and thus also destroying the facility with which combinations are now made by the viva voce vote.

I am speaking to business men who, as a class affect to, if in fact they do not dislike politics and professional politicians, and who indulge a pronounced contempt for the so-called political boss. They have great civic pride, and a high conception of civic duty, and yet they commit the management of campaigns to men they most distrust, and too often neglect the first obligation of the citizen, which is, to purify and keep purified the fountain and source of all government.

In the higher and truer sense, politics is defined to mean "the science of government; that part of ethics which has to do with the government of a nation or state, the preservation of its safety, peace, and prosperity; the defense of its existence and rights against foreign control or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources, and the protection of its citizens in their rights, with the preservation and improvement of their morals."

In this sense no nobler motive in civil life can inspire the citizen than to become an active politician, and that there is more or less of odium attaching to the term politician is due not to the character of political duties cast upon the citizen, but because he has allowed the unworthy and irresponsible to have too wide an influence in controlling political parties.

Coming to the vote upon the nominees, a serious question sometimes arises as to the duty of the citizen. Let me illustrate. In 1884, the contest between Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Blaine for the Presidency was decided by a plurality of 1047 votes for Mr. Cleveland in the State of New York, out of over one million votes cast. Mr. St. John was the Prohibition candidate, and General Butler the Peoples' Party candidate, and between them, they received over forty thousand votes in that state. No one who voted for either of these candidates had the faintest hope of electing him. A thousand of these voters would have changed the result of that election. This thousand may have preferred Mr. Blaine to Mr. Cleveland. They voted for a hopeless cause and changed the current of American history, whether for good or ill, is not the point I am after.

The point is this: Does righteous citizenship justify the citizen in throwing away his vote on a hopeless cause, thus making possible the election of a candidate whom the majority of the people do not want?

When a moral question arises which touches the source and foundation of government itself, as did the slavery question, in 1856, it may become a solemn duty to register a protest, though for the time unavailing. But in most elections, the voter is called upon to decide first as to the general policies, and next as to the men put forward to represent them; and here often great embarrassment con-

fronts him. The policies may be satisfactory, but the man who stands for them may be corrupt and wholly unworthy. The question is too many-sided for discussion here. I believe, however, that all right thinking men must conclude that a party that puts forward such a candidate absolves its followers from all obligations of loyalty for the time, and justifies their bolting the ticket.

There come times, too, when the methods adopted to force a particular nomination are so raw and tyrannical that loyal party men are forced to repudiate the candidate, though worthy and well qualified, for the purpose of rebuking the methods and asserting independence of the convention manipulators. A notable instance of this revolting spirit of a party was the defeat of a Republican candidate for Governor in this state in 1894.

Government policies do not usually involve questions of morals or religious belief; and besides, they are constantly changing, old policies giving way to new ones, to meet the ever changing conditions of the country and the people. The people are not so seriously affected by policies which, for the time, may be enforced by the party in power, as they may be by an unwise and dishonest administration of those policies.

Our form of government admits of quick repeal of laws found to be unwise, and we readily adjust our business to changes in the laws when honestly administered. But for corruptly enacted laws, and a corrupt administration of laws, we have but scant and tardy relief. It took several years to break the Tammany yoke in the days of Tweed's exaltation.

The remedy should be preventative—by electing to important trusts men only of known and tried integrity, ability, civic virtue and patriotism.

The civil service system, which is now almost universally approved, had its origin in the national conscience and was a protest against the spoils system in politics. But it would be abolished in a day if the grafter and other species of spoilsmen could have their way. It was instituted as a necessity in administration, because the conservative and better element of the voting class could not be brought up to the point of attacking and correcting the evil at its source. If

party nominations and party elections had always been conducted on the high plane of Righteous Citizenship, we would have had less need for civil service. We have the reform, however, on a firm basis, and it is quite certain that no political party in this country will ever again stand upon the dictum—that "to the victors belong the spoils."

The limit of my time is reached. In a word, I sum up Righteous Citizenship in the Vote to consist of an active and conscientious participation by every citizen in every step taken to choose the agents who are to administer the affairs of government.

RIGHTEOUS CITIZENSHIP IN THE CHURCH.

BY

THE RT. REV. W. F. NICHOLS, D. D.

Bishop of California

American citizenship distinctively began within the four walls of a church. With singular exactness of speech, it was righteous citizenship, because its first conscious act was to assert a fundamental right of humanity for modern civilization.

Three years from now, it is proposed to celebrate the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the founding of Jamestown in Virginia. To my mind, one of the noblest things to be commemorated in the carrying out of that plan is the meeting of the old House of Burgesses in 1619. That was the casting of the first American ballot. Our national historian, George Bancroft, says it launched popular sovereignty. The natural place then for citizenship on this American continent is the church. And we remember how freedom was evolved by the colonists that came over here—how it led them from the charter of 1606 to that of 1609, to that 1612, each time gaining a little—until in 1619 they came together for the first time as American freemen.

The first election booth was the Church of God. This is interesting for us to follow out in some of its bearings on the solemn side of our topic. It was a new thing under the sun. Church and State had been tied together from the days of Constantine—from the beginning of the fourth century. Though tied together in a somewhat

artificial way, they were always struggling—struggling to see which should have the supremacy. Sometimes the State, with the superior strength she could command, culminated in a Charlemagne; sometimes the Church, with the greater strength she could command, found the upper hand, and produced a Hildebrand; but all the time there was this pushing and pulling of the two in their forced association.

Now, we have a new adjustment of Church and State, and as American citizens, it is important to know just what it is. It is not the Church manipulating the State as an organized body—not swinging votes in the bulk, but it is the Church educating the State in conscience. Our American church does not appear in history as having any particular voice in the affairs of the nation as an organized body, and we do not know of any attempt on the part of it in a corrupt way to shape things, but it was all the time teaching the State the religion which we know it needed; all the time breathing individual patriotism; sending men out with high ideals of citizenship, and trained in that religion for their civic responsibilities.

Take that old William and Mary college, now so little known, perhaps, that few people can tell where it was: Do you know that in the beginnings of this American civilization that one institution did more toward breathing into men individual patriotism and laying the foundation for popular government than any other institution of the whole country? Do you know that out of that institution came a Thomas Jefferson and three other Presidents of the United States, twenty members of Congress, fifteen Senators, seven Cabinet Members and such men as Chief Justice Marshall? And that institution, which had its foundations laid in the earliest days of our colonies, began in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. It was actuated by this same spirit of righteousness, which is to teach the citizen how to be true.

That spirit asserted itself in that old Jamestown church of ours over one hundred and fifty years before the Declaration of Independence. In that first ballot, we have bound up every ballot that has been cast since; and in that first meeting of those Burgesses, you have wrapped up all the stars and all the stripes that have been unfurled to the breezes since.

The province of the Church is to ennoble the man in public life; to give him a conscience and keep it clean and keep it honorable, and keep it strong, and keep it wholesome and sound in whatever he may be engaged. This is the province of the Church towards the citizen. And we have the warnings of history when either on the one side the Church tries to manipulate the citizen for any material interest, or on the other side, the State tries to turn the Church to its own political gain. The truth really is, that the Church is to take the statesman and give him individual conscience, and to take the voter and give him individual principle.

You have this kind of citizenship, for example, on the side of the office and employer when that reaches after a high sense of righteousness, in all dealings providing things honest in the sight of all men! You have had next presented to you that side of citizenship which is concerned with righteousness in the shop and in labor. And we have the testimony of such men as Hon. Carrol D. Wright only the other day at an assemblage presided over by one of the leading labor leaders of the east, when he says—that expert, the head of the National Bureau of Labor—that man to the fore in letters as well as in practical matters:

"You are not going to settle this question by litigation; you are not going to settle this question by arbitration. The only thing that is going to settle this question in the long run is to recognize that the best platform for labor is the decalogue."

We should not regard as peccadilloes in citizenship those things which corrupt, as tax dodging and smuggling, which are a direct travesty on the laws of the land. We must strive for strict integrity in our homes among our children, and teach them that these breaches of the law are not right; that they will ultimately overturn good government. We must foster that consciousness in citizenship which will confront greed with patriotism; which will thwart the attempt to use citizenship for low, selfish ambition in any way. And we want it in the vote; we need to have that high-minded conception of law and duty when exercising the rights of citizenship at the polls. If we are to get any lasting impression from this series of meetings, we should go to our homes with a sense of two distinct duties that belong

to the American citizen. You have already had them ably treated by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me.

Being a citizen of the country, you should take your part in casting your vote as an act of conscience; and the next thing, is to vote conscientiously. We may adopt the familiar couplet and make it read:

"Teach us this and every day
To VOTE more nearly as we pray."

This, then, seems to be the province of the Church—to take the individual and train his conscience; to lift him up to that plane to which humanity was lifted up in that old Jamestown church in 1619—to lift him up to that in the office, in the shop, in the home, in the public spirit and in the vote—to make him a righteous citizen.

Oh, there is looming up before us in the coming Holy Week that cross of Christ, to which, as men, we should be drawing nearer and nearer as these days go on. That Cross is the symbol of triumphant Christianity. It was put by Constantine on his victorious standard, and has stood for the dominating power in all that makes the best part of human affairs. It is a symbol of the Church.

Now, by a curious coincidence—by a significant coincidence—we have for a symbol of our citizenship in the modern ballot, a cross. You put a cross opposite the name of the man for whom you vote; and so the symbol of the Church of Christ becomes the symbol of the true Christian voter. And have you thought of that, dear Christian friends, when going to cast that ballot? May we so vote that when we put down that cross, it will not merely be a mark to indicate that we are voting for such and such a man, but the mark of our holy Christianity, of our holy Church, of our holy faith. And it is perhaps, a fitting closing sentiment for these meetings, which by the enterprise of our St. Andrews Brotherhood have been held from year to year pursuant to their high ideals, that when we do put down that cross on the ballot—that when we do mark that high act of citizenship—that when we do vote, the cross we put down is a true *St. Andrews Cross.*

San Francisco, March 26, 1904.

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AN ADDRESS

TO THE

WORKINGMEN OF CALIFORNIA,

BY WILLIAM F. WHITE,

THEIR CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR IN 1879.

Published Under the Auspices of the Democratic State Central Committee.

HEADQUARTERS DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 16, 1884.

HON. WM. F. WHITE:

Dear Sir—It is the urgent desire of the Democratic State Central Committee that you will give the aid of your recognized ability and influence in a thorough canvass of this State in advocacy of our noble standard bearers, Cleveland and Hendricks, and of the redemption of our State from monopoly and ring rule.

Respectfully yours,

WM. D. ENGLISH, Chairman.

JAS. J. FLYNN, Sec'y.

(REPLY.)

WILLIAM D. ENGLISH, ESQ.,

Chairman of Democratic State Central Committee.

Dear Sir—Your official letter of yesterday, inviting me to canvass the State for the Democratic national ticket, came duly to hand, and I hasten to reply.

I assure you nothing would give me greater pleasure than to accept your invitation, if I could do so consistently with

my ideas of propriety; for though I may not accomplish much for the party, yet to do the little I could do would be a great gratification to me. I hold a public office, the duties of which are of a delicate and, I may say, confidential character, in the performance of which I am brought in contact with prominent, earnest men of both political parties. This, to my mind, would make it unseemly for me to involve myself in so active a way in the present political struggle. Besides, the duties of my position are such as to occupy nearly every day of my time. I have no objection, however, to exercise the right common to all citizens of speaking out on all proper occasions my opinions and views of political questions, for I think it is a duty we owe to each other and to our country to freely express views honestly entertained, and set forth the reasons why we entertain those views. Were I to accept your invitation and find myself once more on the stump in a vast assembly of the producing and working classes who so honored me five years ago with their suffrages for Governor, I would, it seems to me, be supremely happy while I would address them as follows:

Fellow-citizens and Friends: Five years ago you made me your standard-bearer in a desperate fight to subdue the robbing monopolies of our State to honesty and the obedience of law. We did not then win the fight, for a division in our ranks enabled the Republican party to step in and capture the State Government in the interest of the very monopolies we were contending against. But was our fight fruitless? Not at all. When it was over, every man in the Democratic party seeing the justice of our cause, who was not a mere lackey of the railroad monopoly, joined our ranks, giving the workingmen and producers of the State complete control of the Democratic organization, just as Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the party, intended they should have. At the very next State contest we gave the vote of California for President to that gallant old hero, Hancock. Thus encouraged we assembled in convention at San José two years ago and placed in nomination a State ticket headed by General Stoneman, whom we ourselves had nominated and elected Railroad Commissioner in our first

fight in 1879, and whose honesty and truth was in shining contrast to the other two Commissioners who betrayed the people. With this ticket we swept the State as by a whirlwind. But alas for human depravity! The great victory so gloriously won turned to ashes on our lips; for again the gold of the monopoly debauched two of our Railroad Commissioners and enough of our State Senators to completely defeat the will of the people and leave us once more at the mercy of the monopoly. Our Governor remained faithful to his pledges and did all in his power to have the recreant Commissioners displaced, going so far as to call an extra session of the Legislature, to turn them adrift and enact such laws as would in the future compel the railroads to pay their taxes and to cease their wickedly-unjust system of charges for services rendered.

In this extra session the Republican party openly took the side of the monopoly, all but one of their Senators voting on that side every time a vote was taken. While this Legislature was in session the Republican party had a convention in the city of Oakland, and not only did it not condemn the action of its friends in the Legislature, but it actually endorsed their conduct by selecting David McClure, one of the leaders of the monopoly forces in Sacramento, for the honorable position of delegate to their National Convention in Chicago, with such men as Railroad Crocker, Sugar-monopoly Spreckles and the like as associates. The whole Republican press of the State, with the exception of the *Chronicle*, openly took sides with the monopoly in this fight with it in the Legislature. They hooted and decried the Democrats from the Governor down, who were doing all in their power to respond to the wishes of the people and redeem the solemn pledges they had made at the time of their nomination and election. In this way the Republican party, with the aid of the gold furnished by the monopoly, succeeded in beating us out of the fruits of our victory. Now came our State Convention at Stockton. The moment it convened it was evident to all that the producers and workingmen of the State were there in complete control and in no temper to be fooled by the railroad flunkies. They forth-

with arraigned the recreants, high and low, of our own party, tried them in open convention, and finding them guilty denounced and read them out of the party. It was a bold, noble and glorious act, challenging the admiration and respect of even the enemies of our party as well as of the whole people of the State, proving our right beyond all question to be known as the Jeffersonian Democracy.

Then came the Republican Convention at Sacramento. Did they condemn their monopoly Senators and Representatives? Not a bit of it. They inserted some generalities in regard to the railroads which, in their platform, when read, it is said caused a broad laugh in the convention; and then whom do you think they put forward prominently as an elector on their Presidential ticket? Why, no other than the railroad attorney and head manager of the railroad scamps in the State Senate, Mr. Vrooman. Doing so seemed a direct insult to the anti-monopoly sentiment of the people of California, and surely will not be let pass by them on election day.

This experience should not discourage us, but quite the contrary; for it shows that in this State we are now in an overwhelming majority, and that if we are careful to prevent cunning, sell-out thieves from palming themselves off on us in nominating conventions, we will yet surely triumph and force our laws to be respected by aggregated wealth, just the same as they are by private citizens.

That the Republican party has allied itself to the railroad monopolies in this State no intelligent man doubts. Together they must be defeated, or together they will win. This is plainly manifest. To win they know is out of the question if they cannot deceive, mystify and lead off the people to side issues. This they are trying in every way to do, and under cover of the Presidential contest they hope to succeed. Now, my friends, let me have your attention while I lay bare some of the plans of the Republican party leaders to accomplish our defeat and subjugation to the power of aggregated wealth, where we will be pillaged without mercy, to enrich the few at the expense of the many.

The two great parties have made their national nominations for the office of President of the United States, the Republicans nominating James G. Blaine of Maine and the Democrats Grover Cleveland of New York. The nomination of Mr. Blaine turns out to be most unpopular in the Eastern States, and here in this State his party had so utterly ruined themselves by their abject, slavish submission to the wishes of the railroad monopolies that all seemed lost, and Mr. Blaine's defeat a foregone conclusion. In this bad fix some enterprising Republicans suggested that the Irish-American vote could, by a system of coaxing and petting, be induced to wheel into their ranks and save the party. Among others consulted was Frank Pixley, who was earnestly solicited to give up his abuse of the Irish and aid in this work of love-making to that nationality. It seems he reluctantly consented, saying, at the same time, that it was contrary to his judgment to do so, and that he was confident the effort would prove a disgraceful failure; but, not to be obstinate, he agreed to tune up and sing the praises of the "Pope's Irish," as he loves to designate them, until election day in next November. A few prominent Irishmen and Irish newspapers, already more or less allied to the Republican party, were got to start the new idea that the Republican party was now wildly in love with the whole Irish race, particularly that portion of it professing the Catholic religion; that, in fact, the freedom of Ireland was the first thought of their hearts; and now from the favorable way Republican editors began to speak of the Catholics and the Catholic Church, it seems as if the whole gang have some idea of joining in her communion in a body. They write column after column of clap-trap on the tariff question to show how nicely their party will fix it in the interest of Ireland's freedom. They quote Mr. Blaine's brave talk in regard to what his foreign policy is to be, and hint that if he is elected the United States will surely have to declare war against England. They tell us over and over how England hates Blaine and loves Cleveland. Then they touch pathetically on what a nice Catholic mother Blaine had, and how he refused to talk badly of his mother's religion, while denying utterly that he

ever was a Catholic himself. It is even hinted in Catholic circles, in a private way, of course, that Mr. Blaine is terribly shocked at the way the Pope is treated by the Italian Government, and that if he is elected President he intends to invite him to the United States.

So now we find the whole Republican press, with one accord, singing the sweetest music into the ears of the Irish and Catholic voters. All this reminds one irresistibly of a little verse with a moral in it we used to be familiar with in our childhood, long ago. It ran like this:

" 'Will you walk into my parlor?' said the spider to the fly;
'Tis the prettiest little parlor that ever you did spy.
The way into my parlor is up a winding stair,
And I have many curious things to show when you are there.
I'm sure you must be weary, dear, with soaring up so high,
Will you rest upon my little bed?' said the spider to the fly.
'There are pretty curtains drawn around, the sheets are fine and thin,
And if you like to rest awhile, I'll snugly tuck you in.' "

In the end the poor little silly fly yielded to the flattery of the cunning rascal and did go in, and was of course eaten up.

Nearly every political editorial to be found now in the Republican papers is in some way addressed directly or indirectly to the Irish and Catholic voters. In some places, as in the town of Santa Cruz, the portraits of Blaine and Logan, painted on canvas banners, are hung out over the streets, with a border of green around each, intended, I suppose, for the shamrock, instead of for the "red, white and blue." This sort of thing is carried to such an extent that it is beginning to excite the ridicule and scorn of the whole voting people, while it is regarded as an insult by the classes it is intended to flatter. The Democratic press have none of this sort of class appeals; they address the adopted citizens and the Catholics only as a part of the great American family.

The Republicans, as a body, always disliked the Irish adopted citizens more than they did those of any other nationality. There were always many honorable exceptions to this, of course; but of the party at large this is a well-understood fact. They underrate their patriotism and intelli-

gence, and therefore now suppose they can, by clap-trap, transparent flattery, and by addressing their prejudices instead of their reason, induce them to change their political faith. To succeed in this they would have to change the nature and make-up of the whole race of Irish adopted citizens, which it is not likely they would be able to accomplish. The adopted citizens know the history of the Democratic party; they know that it had its birth in the great fight led by Thomas Jefferson against the first attack on foreign-born citizens, after the revolution had made the United States an independent nation.

This attack came from the Federalists under the elder Adams, by the enactment of what was known as the "Alien and Sedition Law."

At the date of that struggle, the last year of the last century, Thomas Addis Emmet and a host of Irish refugees, including such men as the father of the late Charles O'Conor, were in France, waiting with anxiety, as they always afterwards related, for the result of the then pending Presidential contest. Upon Jefferson's triumph their joy knew no bounds, and they all forthwith came to the United States, where many of them had the satisfaction of doing good service in the war with England in 1812.

This war of 1812 was declared by a Democratic administration, under the Presidency of James Madison, in consequence of the claims set up by England that she had a right to visit our national ships and take by force all the Irishmen she found in them, and impress them as her subjects into her own service.

As years passed on, over and over again the opposition to the Democratic party, no matter what name it assumed, has made assaults on the constitutional rights of adopted citizens; but, every time, those assaults were met and defeated by the solid vote of the Democratic members of Congress.

The last and most noted contest of this sort was in 1854 and '55, when every political organization in the whole United States, from Mr. Blaine's Kennebec home in Maine to San Francisco, in our own State, excepting only the Democratic organization, disbanded and rallied to the stand-

ard of "Know-Nothingism." The Democratic organization and the whole Democratic press remained faithful and true to the teachings of the great founder of their party, and single-handed gave battle to fanaticism and bigotry. The reverses they met with at first did not discourage them in the least, but rather inspired them to increased exertion and zeal in their noble cause. In the end complete success crowned their efforts, and "Know-Nothingism," beaten in every State and locality, took shelter in the dark New England caves from which it had at first emerged.

It is said that the native Irish language has no word in it that expresses "ingratitude." Is it surprising, then, taking the history of political parties into view, that we find the adopted citizens regarding the Democratic party with love and affection, as a true friend to be relied on whenever their rights under the Constitution are threatened to be invaded?

They feel and know that on all such occasions in its bosom alone they will find shelter and safety, and they will fly to it as naturally as do frightened birds to the shelter of some great oak on the approach of a storm. Even now, while the Republicans are beseeching the Irish citizens to vote their ticket, more than one-half of them belong to a secret proscriptive order known as "Patriotic Sons of America," which is gathering strength to make one more desperate effort to cripple the privileges of the adopted citizens in the land of their adoption, and deprive Catholics of their constitutional right to worship God in accordance with the dictates of conscience. A few men calling themselves Democrats have undoubtedly also joined this order, but there is not one such to every one hundred Republicans who have done so, and all such pretended Democrats are sure in the end to drift into the Republican party, where they naturally belong.

The Republican party, east of the mountains, are almost *en masse* in favor of Chinese emigration to the United States, and their avowed object is to make them voters, so as to neutralize the vote of the adopted citizens, and at the same time furnish them with cheap labor. The Republicans in this State never but once put an Irish adopted citizen on

their State ticket. That once was when they nominated John A. McGlynn for Harbor Commissioner. He was a man of unblemished character and fine ability; but his party refused to vote for him, and he was beaten by a large majority, when every other man on the Republican ticket was elected.

Taking all this into consideration, does it not seem rather "cheeky" for the Republican party to beg and beseech the adopted citizens to join them in their effort to defeat and crush the Democratic party.

Oh! it is the spider and the fly over again, sure enough.

Now, my friends, let us examine Mr. Blaine's claims to this brave and great "American foreign policy," that his friends claim for him, and that is to do so much for Ireland's freedom when he is President.

Unfortunately for him and his party, he has already been in power and has shown his hand, and the record is before us.

He was Secretary of State of the United States for over nine months, beginning with President Garfield, on March 4th, 1881, and ending on the 12th of December of the same year, under the Presidency of Mr. Arthur. Remember, my friends, these dates, for there are lying fools who declare that Mr. Blaine was only Secretary while President Garfield lived. As Secretary he was especially charged with the conduct of foreign affairs. On the second day of March, 1881, the British Parliament passed an Arbitrary Act allowing the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to arrest and imprison for a year and two months any man in Ireland he chose to suspect of any sort of law-breaking, without permitting him to be tried, or even making any charge against him. Under the authority of this act some two hundred or more American citizens were arrested and cast into British dungeons. Among these was Daniel Sweeney, a most estimable adopted citizen, who had lived in San Francisco for over twenty years, and had been well known to many of us. Sweeney and many more of these citizens wrote to the Republican Minister in London, Mr. Lowell, but he refused to do anything for them. They then wrote to Mr. Blaine himself. There was a glori-

ous opportunity for Mr. Blaine to display his brave American policy and beard the British Lion in his den. Did he do it? Not a bit of it; but, on the contrary, before the haughty power of the English Government he wilted and showed the white feather, which, I suppose, is the origin of the plume he is said to wear. Anyway he proved the veriest coward England ever met in the office of Secretary of State when in any controversy with the United States. The recital of his conduct in this whole business is a humiliation to every citizen of the United States, native or adopted.

Now, to make the matter plain, let us suppose that our Congress had passed a similar law to that of the British Parliament, (which, of course, they have no power to do), allowing the President to cast into prison any one he chose to suspect of law-breaking and keep them there one year and two months, to punish them for being suspected by him, and suppose, further, that the President said he did suspect two hundred certain Englishmen, British subjects, and, to punish them for being suspected, he cast them into dirty, filthy prisons, or into clean prisons, and insisted upon keeping them there for a year and two months, without allowing them a trial or even telling them what they were charged with; and supposing they appealed to England and that she at once demanded, as she most certainly would do, of our President why these Englishmen were thus detained; and supposing our President answered, and said: "We will not tell you why we imprison your subjects, nor will we try them, nor will we tell you what they are charged with, nor will we let them out until we are ready to do so, which most likely will not be for a long time yet; and you have no reason to complain, as we are treating some of our own citizens just as badly as we are yours." Now, my friends, what do you suppose England would say or do when she received this reply? She would of course at once answer:

"Mr. President, your law is inhuman, and your conduct under it towards our subjects is contrary to the laws of nations and will not be tolerated by England, and we therefore have to inform you that if those Englishmen, our subjects, are

not at once tried according to the forms of law for the crimes you charge them with or liberated forthwith without trial, in forty-eight hours after you refuse this, our demand, we will declare war against the United States." This answer the whole civilized world would applaud and England would keep her word, if she were to lose half her kingdom by doing so.

Now, my friends, let me give you a case in point which transpired under the present Republican administration, just to show you how England does up her business when any one even looks cross at one of her subjects, and how one roar of that Lion can make our Republican friends in Washington dance.

It seems that an Englishman by the name of William Lane was cast into prison in Detroit, Michigan, accused of a most diabolical attempt at murder. He at first confessed the crime, but repenting of having done so he wrote a letter to the British Minister, Mr. West, at Washington, to see what could be done to help him, and saying that he was refused an immediate trial. Mr. West at once demanded that Lane should be forthwith tried, in accordance with our laws. Without an hour's delay Mr. Frelinghuysen telegraphed to the Attorney-General of Michigan to have Lane tried without delay, and then telegraphed to Mr. Lowell, our Minister in London, instructing him to at once see Granville, His Lordship, and assure him that our Government was up and doing in the matter of the British subject, Lane. When the Michigan Attorney-General got the telegram he seemed, too, to have in imagination heard the roar of the British Lion; for it is said he flew from the State Capital to Detroit in the greatest haste and there announced to the judiciary of that good city that the Lion had roared. The result was that William Lane, the would-be murderer, was tried within four days from the date of Mr. West's demand.

From all this it will be seen that the contrast between the treatment of British subjects in America and of American citizens in Ireland was most startling. At the time of all the Lane correspondence innocent American citizens, charged with no crime and protesting their innocence of any crime,

vainly appealing to this Government for a trial, had been languishing in a British jail for over twelve months. The British Government insolently refused to inform this Government of what they were charged or to grant them a trial. Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, acquiesced in this refusal, tamely submitted to it, and turned a deaf ear to the appeals of these innocent and imprisoned men. Months passed and still they languished in British dungeons, uncared for and unheeded. But, as soon as a British subject—a self-confessed criminal—is found in jail in America and appeals to his Government for trial, all the machinery of the State Department of the United States is set in motion. The mails are not fast enough to carry letters for him, the telegraph and Atlantic cable are brought into requisition, the particulars of his crime are given minutely, the United States hastens to declare that nobody is to blame, and four days after the first intimation from the British Government that it proposed to intervene, the man was placed on trial, and a telegram sent, that he was on trial, to Lord Granville. One roar from the British Lion accomplished in four days, for this confessed criminal and attempted murderer, Lane, what Mr. Blaine had failed to accomplish in twice as many months for the innocent American citizens. But then it must not be forgotten that Lane was a British subject, with all the power of England's Queen behind him; while, on the other hand, the others were simply innocent American citizens, with no one but Blaine to appeal to. In addition to all this, even after one roar from the British Lion had brought on Lane's trial in four days and got all the information and telegrams from the American Government, the British Government still continued to refuse to try or release Sweeney and several other of the suspects, or to give them or the American Government any information as to the crime with which they were charged, and kept them in prison for nearly five months afterwards, finally discharging them without trial, accusation or apology, Sweeney and some others being in prison more than a year and four months.

But let me return to the imprisonment of our citizens in Ireland, so that there may be no mistake about Mr. Blaine's action under the present Republican Administration.

After Sweeney was arrested, he wrote the following letter to Mr. Lowell:

"DUNDALK JAIL, June 7, 1881.

"SIR:—I am an American citizen, having resided twenty-five years in the United States, twenty of which I spent in San Francisco, Cal. During that time I never was either charged, accused or even suspected of any crime; nor, in fact, never was accused of any crime in my life, until on the 2d of the present month my house was surrounded by an armed force, and I was forcibly dragged from the bosom of my family and lodged in jail. * * * Now, sir, I want a fair trial. If I am innocent, I want, as an American, to be released. * * *

"Yours respectfully,

"DANIEL SWEENEY."

To this Mr. Lowell gave no satisfactory answer; so Sweeney wrote again on July 14th, and again on the 17th of the same month, describing to Mr. Lowell his horrible condition in the British dungeon, and declaring his entire innocence of all crime. Mr. Lowell after waiting over a month answered this last letter on the 25th of September, 1881. In this letter he flatly declines to make any application for Sweeney's release, saying:

"The Coercion Act was the law of the land, and it would be manifestly futile to claim that naturalized citizens of the United States should be excepted from its operation.

"The only case, in my opinion, in which I ought to intervene would be where an American citizen who is in Ireland, attending exclusively to his private business, and taking no part whatever in public meetings or political discussions, should be arrested."

He also said:

"I have communicated these views to the Department of State, and I have received, so far, no instruction in a contrary spirit."

In all Lowell's answers to the imprisoned American citizens he lays down the doctrine that if they are all treated alike, and the same as they treat their own prisoners, no one has a right to complain.

To this proposition Sweeney in one of his letters to Lowell makes this well-pointed answer:

"My case is not exceptional. But with equal justice you might say to an American, who should happen to be captured by some savage chief of the Cannibal Islands and sentenced to be eaten: 'Oh, sir, your case is not exceptional; there are others to be devoured as well as you. I do not think it proper to intervene.'"

Lowell in writing to Mr. Blaine, in regard to the case of Walsh, July 15th, 1881, lays down this same doctrine of his. Here is what he says:

"Granville, His Lordship, has declined to give any further information on the subject beyond that contained in the warrant itself. * * * I submit to your better judgment whether the only arguments I can use in favor of Walsh must not be founded upon unexceptional injustice, in the way in which he has been treated; but if it shall be shown that he has experienced no more harshness than the majority of his fellow-prisoners have suffered, I do not feel by any means sure that any instructions would authorize me to make any special application on his behalf."

On November 25th, 1881, Mr. Blaine wrote to Lowell, fully approving of his whole course, and declaring that he *has "pursued his instructions,* with great energy and sagacity, and in sympathy with the feelings of this government." In another letter to Mr. Lowell, Blaine declares that he has "great confidence in his discretion."

All these quotations are taken from the official report of the Irish cases made by our State Department to Congress. They show conclusively how fully Mr. Blaine is responsible for the villainous and cowardly way the Irish adopted citizens were abandoned to a cruel fate in Ireland.

Have patience with me while I read to you one or two more letters relative to this important matter. The first is a letter from Daniel Sweeney to his daughter Miss Mamie Sweeney, then residing in San Francisco, which was published in the daily papers of San Francisco at the time of its receipt. It is as follows:

"Dundalk Jail, December 12, 1881.

My Dear Mamie:—You must excuse me for not answering your two last letters sooner. Since the winter set in I was unable, owing to the severe cold in this dungeon, to sit still long enough to write even a few lines. I have to keep moving about continually in my narrow space to keep from freezing. You

must know how dreadful it is to be locked up for eighteen hours a day in this cold, damp climate without any fire, and, worse still, we are compelled to stand or walk about daily for five hours in the open air, in a damp muddy yard, ankle deep in water, and then return to our cold cell trembling with cold. It requires a strong constitution to stand it long.

" I fear many of our brave fellows will succumb before the Winter is over. As I was only sentenced for sixteen months, I thought at first I might live it out; but you know I was in delicate health when I was arrested, being barely able to move about after a severe attack of sickness. All efforts on the part of your mother and all our friends failed to discover the cause of my arrest. I appealed to Mr. Lowell, United States Minister at London, for protection, but he answered that it was absurd for a naturalized citizen of the United States to claim protection. He says that even a native-born citizen could only have recourse to such an appeal to the courtesy of the British Government to be released. He added, in a later communication, that the British Government refused to give him any information about the charge against me, and that they snubbed him.

" Your mother wrote to Mr. Blaine about my case, but that gentleman did not deign even a reply. I heard nothing whatever from him.

" About a couple of weeks ago I saw in the English papers a report of his speech in Philadelphia, wherein he states that he is more loyal to Queen Victoria than any British subject. So it would appear that we appealed to the wrong man. I am now in jail going on seven months, charged with no crime, and not even a shadow of suspicion that I violated any law; and when our American Minister asks a civil question about me, he is snubbed, insulted and his flag trampled on; but he does not appear to make much fuss about it, and the American Government takes no notice of the question any more than the King of the Sandwich Islands would. Truly, it is rather an awkward position for me. I swore fealty to the United States, renounced my allegiance to all Kings, Princes or foreign potentates whatever; but most particularly to Queen Victoria, of whom it was alleged I was a subject, but which I deny; but I went through the form lest she might claim me. I have in my possession a very nice document with the proud American eagle perched on it, purporting to be a certificate of American citizenship.

" The American Government will not recognize me. I have no claim on France or on Russia. I have no country or Government to raise its voice, while England slowly but surely is putting me to death; but death itself would be preferable to this torture.

" So you see now what the once proud title of American amounts to. But it is a question that should be settled. Millions in the United States should be interested in my fate, lest it

might be their misfortune some day to visit their native home and find themselves cast into a dungeon and put to death without a trial by judge or jury. It matters little how the question is answered so far as my case is concerned. It will not take many more days in this dungeon to settle it. Your mother, of course, will try and make her way to California with the children. Our property will be confiscated.

"The Landlord magistrates in our district have raised the poor rate to 18 per cent. on the assessed valuation of our property, while on their own it was only 2½ per cent.; but they have the resources of civilization at their backs.

"There are now fifty suspects in this jail, some of whom are among the most reputable men in their respective districts. The charge against the most of them is 'preventing people doing what they had a legal right to do, namely, to pay no rents.' It looks so funny to see on their cell doors in large letters 'No rent.' We have one man from Dublin whose father died a few days ago. He applied to the authorities to see his father buried, but they answered that they 'could not see the way to grant his request,' and this young man does not know what he was arrested for.

"Give my kindest regards to all my old California friends.

"Your fond father,

"D. SWEENEY."

The next is a letter from *Mrs. Sweeney to Mr. Blaine* direct, which he never took the trouble to even answer. I take it from the same official report made to Congress. It was dated August 3d, 1881, and was received by *Mr. Blaine* on the 16th day of the same month. In it she says:

"I am an American; my husband is an American citizen, and he has committed *no crime.* A tax collector, Wybrants Olphert, of this county, sent his horses and carts and carried away a poor woman's crop grown on her land from seed obtained from charitable sources. This same Olphert refused permission to erect school houses on his 20,000 acres to educate his 6000 serfs, alleging as a reason that if those people were educated a landlord could not walk out of his house. My husband expressed his opinion that these things were wrong, and for the expression of those opinions he was cast into a British dungeon. I ask, will the American Government protect me? This destruction of person and property Act spares neither age nor sex. I have opinions; this is already known to the enemy. I am liable at any moment to be cast into a dungeon. Our arms have been taken from us; my crop is destroyed by vermin; my husband is in delicate health, pining in prison. Will you leave me unprotected in the enemy's country with eight American orphans on my hands?"

Senator Voorhees, one of the great Democratic leaders, in commenting on Mrs. Sweeney's letter in the United States Senate April 14th, 1882, among other things said:

"Mrs. Sweeney was a native-born American woman. In her letter to Mr. Blaine she said: 'I am an American, my husband is an American citizen and he has committed no crime.' Still there was no response to this American wife and mother. She invoked the justice of law for her husband, innocent of crime, and she asked in respectful terms, whether she would be protected or left to share his fate, because she could not help sharing his opinions. She spoke for him, for herself, and for her virtually orphan children. Sir, a Government, or the department of a Government, which in any age of the world's history, would turn a deaf ear to burning words like these could not complain of being regarded with aversion and contempt in all quarters of the globe. A policy of silence and indifference under such circumstances is so unmanly and pusillanimous that every American head will be bowed with shame, and every American heart filled with humiliation, as the facts of this case become generally known. I feel degraded in my pride as a citizen of the American Republic, when compelled to state, as I now do, with the communication of the Department of State in my hand, that until six long weary months to the prisoner, after this Government had received his wife's letter, not a single step was taken by the authorities here directing inquiry into the circumstances of his arrest. The woman's appeal lay unheeded in the official pigeon-holes of the Department whose duty it was to protect her and all her family.

"I plead for the right of this woman, and of all men and women of foreign birth or with foreign alliances, to visit their kindred, share in their joys and their sorrows, look upon the graves of their parents and caress the loved ones they left behind them, without molestation or hindrance from any power whatever, as long as they break no law. This is not a question as to the people of one nativity; it is not an Irish nor a German question; it applies to naturalized citizens of every clime and land, and it affects their rights and their safety, on whatever sea or shore they may wander. It will be settled at no distant day, in accordance with American honor. The people of the United States have too proud a sense of justice, and their own strength and glorious destiny, to submit longer to the policy of a party which permits the American citizen, the American flag and the American name to be outraged with impunity by foreign nations."

One more case, my friends, will suffice to convince you, I think, that what Mr. Blaine's friends call his "Great American Foreign Policy," is nothing but a fraud.

John McEnery, an American citizen, was cast into a vile prison in the City of Limerick. He wrote to Mr. Lowell under date of August 3d, 1881, while Mr. Blaine was yet Secretary of State, but only got from him the same stereotyped answer he had given Sweeney and all the other imprisoned Americans. McEnery then wrote under date of Jan. 16th, 1882, to Miss Anna Parnell, sister of the Great Irish leader, Charles Stuart Parnell, as follows:

"I send you enclosed Mr. Lowell's answer to my application for protection. It needs no comment from me. * * * I am now seven months in jail, and, from long and close confinement, my *eyesight has failed* so that I am unable to read any during eighteen hours of the day in my cell. What this is for I do not know, as I challenge any person in Ireland to prove any crime against me, more than being an American citizen. I remain most respectfully your obliged faithful servant.

"JOHN MCENERY,
"Suspect, Limerick Prison.

"P. S.—Note, I have asked Mr. Lowell for a fair and impartial trial."

In this note McEnery asked Miss Parnell to send his communication to some Congressman in America for the information of American citizens. He also declared that he went to America in 1850, at the age of 16. Miss Parnell thoroughly understood that it would be useless to send this communication to any Republican Congressman, so she wrote to Mr. S. S. Cox, the Democratic representative of New York, the following letter:

MISS PARNELL'S APPEAL.

"THE LADIES' NATIONAL LAND LEAGUE,
39 UPPER SACKVILLE STREET,
DUBLIN, JANUARY 26, 1882.

"*Dear Mr. Cox:* You will see that I am requested by the writer of this, John McEnery, at present confined in a Limerick prison, without trial, to send Mr. Lowell's answer to his application for protection to some Congressman and to have his case published in the American papers. I think that you are the best person I can send the papers to, as you have always shown so much interest in our people and done so much to help us.

"I remain yours truly,
"ANNA PARNELL."

But, my friends, perhaps you may think that the law of the United States would not allow Mr. Blaine or the President to protect adopted citizens in a foreign land. So I will read for you the Statute of the United States on this subject:

"Section 2000. All naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens.

"Section 2001. Whenever it is made known to the President that any citizen of the United States has been unjustly deprived of his liberty by or under the authority of any foreign Government, it shall be the duty of the President forthwith to demand of that Government the reasons of such imprisonment, and if it appears to be wrongful and in violation of the rights of American Citizenship, the President shall forthwith demand the release of such citizen; and if the release so demanded is unreasonably delayed or refused, the President shall use such means not amounting to acts of war as he may think necessary and proper to obtain or effectuate the release, and all the facts and proceedings relative thereto shall, as soon as practicable, be communicated by the President to Congress."

We all know that had these things happened when Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, General Jackson, or any of our grand old Democratic Presidents, were at the head of our Government, they would have brought England up with a round turn by at once casting into prison two Englishmen for every one American citizen imprisoned in England in defiance of the laws of nations, and there they would have remained until the Americans were liberated. This was just what Jackson and Madison told the British Government they would do on two memorable occasions, and in one instance added that the Englishmen would be hanged if that should be found necessary to secure justice to the imprisoned Americans. Now, let me call your attention to one matter, which will show you how completely Mr. Blaine and the Republican Administration at Washington were under the control of British influence. While all these American citizens were immured in British dungeons for no crime at all, the Yorktown fête to celebrate the centennary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis came off.

At that celebration an order was issued, signed by Arthur and Blaine, as follows:

"In recognition of the friendly relations so long and so happily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, in trust and in confidence of peace and good-will between the two countries for all the centuries to come, and especially as a mark of the profound respect entertained by the American people for the illustrious Sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne, it is hereby ordered that at the close of these scenes commemorative of the valor and success of our forefathers in their patriotic struggle for independence, *the British flag shall be saluted* by the forces of the Army and Navy of the United States now at Yorktown. The Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy will give orders accordingly.

"CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

"By the President:

"JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State."

This salute was given in the grandest style imaginable, and Mr. Blaine, who was apparently overcome with his desire to do honor to the Government which had persistently snubbed him, sent to the diplomatic channels an engrossed and beautiful copy of this order to "Her Most Gracious Majesty." Mr. Hoppin, of the London Legation, delivered that precious document to Lord Granville for the Queen, accompanied by the following letter:

WM. HOPPIN TO LORD GRANVILLE.

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, November, 1881.

"*My Lord*—I have the honor to acquaint you that I have *received from Mr. Blaine* an engrossed copy of the order adopted at Yorktown saluting the British flag, for which I have great pleasure in forwarding herewith to your Lordship. Mr. Blaine, in his letter transmitting this document, states that the action was most enthusiastically applauded by the large crowd assembled at Yorktown, especially that part of the order referring to Her Majesty, whose popularity in the United states, *he adds, is without bounds.*

"W. J. HOPPIN."

Lord Granville, not to be outdone in this matter, sent the following polite reply:

LORD GRANVILLE TO MR. HOPPIN.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, NOV., 1881.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that I have received the Queen's commands to request that you will have the goodness

to state to the President of the United States that Her Majesty has been *deeply touched by this proof of the kindly feeling* which animates the people of the sister country with regard to her own person and the British nation at large.

"GRANVILLE."

The publication of Sweeney's letter in the San Francisco papers awoke the most intense interest throughout the United States, an causing investigation by citizens generally, and particularly by adopted citizens, into the merits of this whole controversy.

Public meetings were everywhere held denouncing Minister Lowell and demanding his immediate recall; but the administration at Washington could not recall him for doing just exactly what Mr. Blaine and Mr. Frelinghuysen had instructed him to do; so he is yet in London, as our representative.

At one of these meetings, held in Buffalo, Grover Cleveland, then mayor of that city, presided, and upon taking the chair addressed the meeting as follows, in a speech which has the true, glorious American ring about it:

"*Fellow-citizens*—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning, or how valuable a thing it is to be a Citizen.

"From the earliest civilization, to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of the personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened Government.

"And perhaps no Government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate, upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we choose those who, for the time being, shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

"And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great strong Government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native-born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World, and invited hither

its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the Virgin fields to-day.

"They came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came, and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of Justice and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accpted their fealty, and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

"And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

"It needed not the statute which is now the law of the land, declaring that 'all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,' to voice the policy of our nation.

"In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved the right of a person arrested to speedy accusation and trial, is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

"At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

"We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interest of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say and do say that mere suspicion, without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not! And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

"We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the Government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the Government.

"The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly asked: 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?'

"So, too, might we ask appealingly to the law of our land, and the laws of civilization, 'is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?'

"I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting and I thank you for it. What is your further pleasure?"

To assist Mr. Blaine in his present contest, the Republican press has the audacity to drag religion into the canvass, and to appeal to Catholics, as Catholics, to vote for Mr. Blaine, because he had a nice Catholic mother, and was a Catholic himself, we are told by his neighbors, until he became ambitious to enter into the political field to find honors there. Then he found that it was impossible to do this while he remained a Catholic, so intense were his brother Republicans in their hatred of that religion, so he renounced Catholicism and became a Protestant, making but one condition, and that was that he should never be asked to make a prayer in the church of which he became a member. Then to completely free himself from any suspicion that he had any lingering good feelings towards the Catholics, he became a pronounced "Know Nothing," and vigorously persecuted the Irish and Catholics both, and used his paper, the Kennebec *Journal*, to inflame the public mind against adopted citizens and Catholics. The result was, that the Catholic Church at Bath, in that State, was burnt to the ground, and in the town of Ellsworth a most worthy Catholic priest was dragged from his friend's house into the street, stripped of his clothes, tarred and feathered, and while half dead ridden on a rail out of town. In all these outrages the Kennebec *Journal*, if not directly justifying the mob, yet argued that the mob had many excuses for their conduct. Such is the man Catholics are appealed to to vote for. Two years ago the pastor of the Church Mr. Blaine joined, at the request of some of his friends, *certified* that he had nothing Catholic about him, and that for years "they never heard him express anything but *hatred* and *contempt* for the Pope of Rome." The Kennebec *Journal*, while under the editorial charge of Mr. Blaine, advocated the passage by the Maine Legislature of the most bitter Know-Nothing and anti-Catholic laws, many of which are said to remain on the statute book to this day.

Such is the record of Mr. Blaine, as given in the New York *Herald* and other reliable journals, which no Republican paper has thus far been able to contradict, and which is one that every Protestant as well as Catholic must regard with contempt.

In 1875, James Madigan, the son of an Irish Catholic, but himself a native born, was a candidate for Congress in Maine, and Mr. Blaine was Chairman of the State Republican Committee. He caused to be circulated throughout the Congressional District, for the purpose of defeating Mr. Madigan, the following circular, containing among other things, a vile slander upon Senator Casserly of California:

"Do the Protestant Democrats of the Fourth District desire to be represented in Congress by a Roman Catholic? James C. Madigan, the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Fourth District, is a very zealous Roman Catholic? He is believed by many to be a lay member of the secret Order of Jesuits, just as the late Senator Casserly, of California, was. Casserly was elected to the Senate by Jesuit money, $100,000 contributed by that Order, and the fact being discovered, Casserly at once resigned his seat rather than stand an investigation, and thus expose the workings of the Order. In Ohio and other States the Catholics are striving to destroy the only avenue for education left open to the children of the poor. They say, 'We will have church schools instead,' and thus let loose the worst of theological quarrels all over the land. It is a great gain to the Catholics to get these prominent men in Congress. They have now four members of the United States Senate, one each from the States of New York, Missouri, Virginia and Florida. The whole energy of the Catholic Church is now exerted to increase its power in the Congres of the United States. The Papists everywhere are watching the result of Madigan's campaign in this district, and it will be hailed everywhere as a great triumph for the Catholics if a New England Protestant district sends a Roman Catholic to represent them in Congress. Are the Protestant Democrats of the Fourth District willing to aid in building up the Roman hierarchy? Answer at the polls on the 13th of September, and if you do not feel willing to vote for General Plaisted, at least cut Madigan's name off your regular Democratic.

Remember that you owe more to religious sentiments than you do to your party, and the proper rebuke to your party for asking you to vote for a Roman Catholic is to support General Connor for Governor, and General Plaisted for Congress..

"PROTESTANT DEMOCRAT."

There is no doubt about Mr. Blaine's having circulated this circular.

The statements in regard to it have been printed in reliable, truthful journals all over the country, giving the names of well-known and reputable persons who have declared that they know of their own knowledge that the circulars were distributed from Mr. Blaine's own house. The charge that they were so distributed was made at the time and has been repeated often since, but, as the local journals state, never denied by Mr. Blaine or his friends. Indeed, these journals have all along declared that it was impossible for Mr. Blaine to deny the charge, as the proof of its truth was at hand and could be conclusively established.

How any honorable man could have taken part in such a transaction as this, it is impossible to understand.

The Know-Nothing organization of this State, calling itself "Patriotic Sons of America," is known in the Eastern States as the "American Political Alliance," and claims to be immensely strong in numbers. In an article in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of the 19th of this month, headed "Notes of the Campaign," various reasons are given which it thinks should inspire hope with Republicans that Blaine will be elected. First he reports James Redpath, as saying to the *Tribune* this: "The defection of Irish from the Democratic party this fall, will be on a scale unparalleled in the history of the Irish in America." And further on he makes Repath say, "Blaine will win mainly through Irish-American voters who are drawn from the Democratic party." Then the *Chronicle* article goes on to give another good point in Blaine's fight, and says:

"Persons calling themselves members of the American Political Alliance, predict that the organization will reveal great strength indirectly, if not directly, in the present campaign. If they do not nominate a candidate, they will vote to a man for the best American—for the man who can be depended upon to uphold American interests against the world. They are not opposed, they say, to any religious creed, as the Know-Nothings were, they are opposed only to foreigners and their political influences. The hope in time to so regulate the laws that only men born on this soil shall be allowed the elective franchise."

It is untrue to say that this Know-Nothing organization does not oppose any religious creed, for they are bitterly opposed to Catholics. The above quotation from the *Chronicle* admits that a cardinal point in their creed is *to deprive all adopted citizens of the "elective franchise,"* and that this whole organization are going to vote for Mr. Blaine, believing him to be an American of *their own sort.* So, it seems the *Chronicle* expects to see all the Know-Nothings walk to the polls arm-in-arm with all the Irish citizens to vote Blaine, Lowell and the rest of that sort once more into power, when they will try to outdo each other in cringing servility to the British Queen and her Government as they have done in the past.

But the *Chronicle* is not candid in pretending to draw hope of Mr. Blaine's election from the fact that the "American Political Alliance" will vote for him, because all the members of that alliance with not more of an exception than one in one hundred came from and now are Republicans and would have voted for Mr. Blaine any way. Then the *Chronicle* knows full well that all this talk about the Irish citizens vote is humbug and bosh.

The Republican press constantly assert that all those journals devoted in a special manner to the interest of the adopted citizens or to the Catholic Church, are working for Mr. Blaine. This is positively untrue, and so says the *Boston Pilot*, the *New York Freeman's Journal*, the *Irish-American*, the *San Francisco Monitor*, and many other such papers. The *Irish World* is the only paper devoted to just interests of note that does support Mr. Blaine, and it never was a Catholic paper, nor a Democratic paper either. The *Irish World* taking this position is something truly wonderful, because there is not a paper in the United States that has so fiercely heretofore denounced Mr. Blaine and his conduct while Secretary of State. Let me read for you a few extracts from that paper:

One whole page of the *Irish World* of July 2d, 1881, is taken up with an open letter addressed by Patrick Ford, the editor, to Mr. Blaine, *then Secretary of State.* In this letter Ford reviews Blaine's whole conduct in the Irish cases, and

calls his attention to the difference between his (Blaine's) action and that of Secretary Marcy in the Koszta case under Democratic administration, and in closing says:

"The views presented in this letter, Mr. Blaine, are not one-sided views. They are the universally accepted views. In all my readings on the question of citizenship, naturalization, allegiance and protection—and nothing available has been passed over—I have not come across one lawyer that held a contrary opinion nor a judge that has decided otherwise. Not one! In face of this cloud of testimony, how can you, Mr. Blaine, assume a contrary position? How can you get yourself to condemn the rulings of your predecessors, the judgments of Courts, the opinions of able lawyers, the enactments of Congress, the positive action of the Executive with respect to protection and allegiance, with the plain inference which men of common sense must draw from the context of these aggregated facts? I cannot understand your conduct. It is explainable only by ignorance of the law or treason to duty. As a substitute for your discharge of duty, however, you tell us that you would cheerfully counsel the President to appeal to the friendly benevolence of the British Government in behalf of Mr. Boyton. This is very kind of you, indeed. But you mistake, Mr. Blaine. This is not an Irish relief measure. The man who asks you to do him justice—who asks you to do your simple duty in the matter—is not a beggar at your door. He scorns you and your appeal. When he read your insulting proposals in the English press his indignant soul flashed this over the ocean to President Garfield:

"'I hope you will never submit the honor of the Republic, which I fought to maintain, to the degradation of an appeal to the benevolence of the cowardly British Government, which is incapable of extending to my countrymen the commonest justice!'

"Mr. Boyton is now a captive in a British bastile; but the outrage done to his personal rights, whilst it subdues the physical man, cannot vanquish the spirit that is within. 'The foeman's chain cannot bring his proud soul under.' Boyton shows that he is still capable of upholding the honor of this republic in his dungeon home as well as in the tempest of war. Whatever humiliation this country is subjected to is due not to such noble hearts, but to the Administration of which you are a chief minister and adviser, and which, ignoring the traditions of better days, meanly and tratorously abandons citizens whom it is bound by every principle of honor and law to extend protection to.

"But this matter is not wholly done with. The Congress of the United States at its next session will be called on to pass on the subject. Respectfully, etc., PATRICK FORD."

This Patrick Ford is the same individual who is now calling on the Irish voters to put this same Blaine in power again.

[Irish World, March 11, 1882.]

A Strange St. Patrick's Day Orator.

Ex-Secretary Blaine is announced to speak in St. Louis at a banquet given by the Knights of St. Patrick, on the evening of the 17th of March. A more unfit selection could be hardly made, as it is an insult to the intelligence of self-respecting Irish-Americans to ask them to listen on St. Patrick's day to a man who refused to stir a finger to release from British dungeons American citizens of Irish descent illegally arrested, although at the time it was his duty to see that these citizens were either accorded a trial by jury or released from prison.

Mr. Blaine is reported as having Presidential aspirations. He sees no chance of getting a nomination from the Republican party, and it is said that he is determined to run on an independent ticket.

As Blaine is a thorough demagogue, he thinks, perhaps, that he may succeed in winning some of the Irish-American votes by figuring as one of the orators at a St. Patrick's night banquet. *He forgets that his presence at such a meeting after what he has done is an insult to every intelligent Irishman present.*

Does he for a moment suppose that American citizens with Irish blood in their veins will ever forget that when he was Secretary of State he allowed American citizens residing in Ireland to be arrested and imprisoned on mere suspicion without his calling the British Government to account for this violation of international law, as he was in duty bound to do?

The other day, in his eulogy on the late President Garfield, Blaine gave us a reason why he acted in this way when going out of his way to eulogize Gladstone he said: "One is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with supreme courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name."

Not to add to the obstacles of this "great English statesman," our pro-British ex-Secretary of State, whilst in office, allowed American citizens to be arrested and imprisoned without trial. We can understand how this conduct would entitle him to a hearty reception at a gathering of Anglo-Americans—as, for instance, at a meeting of the Society of St. George—but what claims it has upon the admiration of the Knights of St. Patrick passes our understanding.

[From the Irish World, November 12, 1881.]

American Flunkeyism and Confederate Bonds.

On October 19th we celebrated the centennial of Yorktown. The celebration, as our readers know, was marred by the President's order, or to speak more accurately, Blaine's order, commanding the British flag to be saluted by the forces of the

United States army and navy stationed at Yorktown. On October 27th, a week after, the cable brought us the news that Confederate bonds had gone up $1\frac{3}{8}$, and that a movement was on foot to have the United States Government redeem them. The flunkeyism displayed at Yorktown makes the English holders of the bonds think that English influence in America is powerful enough to make our Government do anything, even to paying Englishmen for having done their best to destroy the Union.

[Irish World, July 2, 1881.]

Here is an incident that occurred at the arrest, under the Coercion Act, of an American citizen, Mr. McSweeney: The son of Mr. McSweeney, a boy ten years old, seeing his father arrested, ran up the American flag on a pole, exclaiming, "Father, behold the flag of your adopted country; trust to it for your protection and speedy deliverance." The boy had been taught by his father that the United States always interposes its protecting shield whenever a foreign Government attempts to commit an act of injustice upon an American citizen. He had heard of the power of the Government to which his father owed allegiance, and believed that power would be used to make England open her prison door and let his parent go free. He had not heard that the whirligig of politics had placed in the office of Secretary of State at Washington *a man who seems bent upon showing the world how far England can trample upon American citizenship with impunity*. But that boy's faith in the protecting power of the Stars and Stripes must be realized. The politician from Maine who would allow England to do what she pleases with American citizens residing within her limits, must be taught that he will not be permitted to degrade American citizenship to please the English Government. In the case of Mr. Boyton, *he has tried to shirk his duty by inventing reason why a man who fought for the Union*, and who, in virtue of his father's declaration of intentions, is entitled to the protection of our Government, should be abandoned to the tender mercies of the British Government. We do not know what reason Mr. Blaine will now invent for not interfering in behalf of Mr. McSweeney, but if left to himself his loyalty to England's interest would no doubt suggest some excuse for allowing an American citizen to be arrested and without trial shut up in a British bastile. But Mr. Blaine must not be allowed to carry his *flunkeyism* to that extent. American citizenship must be made respected in spite of the politician from Maine.

[From the Irish World, Dec. 10, 1881.]

MR. BOYNTON'S RELEASE.

Broken in health and threatened with blindness, Mr. Boynton has at length been released from Kilmainham. He passes from the prison to the hospital, there perhaps to end his life, the latest victim to English tyranny.

There is no more shameful chapter in the history of our international relations than the one which records how this Union soldier has been allowed to pine in his prison cell, week after week, without the Government for which he risked his life interfering to secure for him even so much as a trial by jury. The Boynton case will ever remain a blot on our history.

The man who has been guilty of allowing this Union soldier to be imprisoned without trial in a foreign country on a vague suspicion ought to be driven from public life.

In his flunkeyism to the British Government, James G. Blaine has refused to protect American citizens, whom he was bound by every principle of law to extend protection to. Such a man has no conception of what is due to the honor of the United States, and should never be placed in a position where he can disgrace our Government.

We cannot write of this man without experiencing a feeling of exasperation at the thought that a flunkey has had it in its power to insult the dignity of American citizenship in the way it has been insulted. But what can you expect of one who has so little regard for the proprieties of his position as to speak of the "loyalty of American citizens to Queen Victoria," as Mr. Blaine did when welcoming the British Minister to Washington? No wonder Earl Granville, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, had the audacity to speak of America's "devoted loyalty" to the Queen of England. Listen how the London correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, the very prince of toadies, speaks of this incident: "Lord Granville referred with not less fitness of language to the deep grief and sympathy of England in the loss of President Garfield, and to the American demonstrations of 'devoted loyalty' to the Queen. He used the word loyalty with a half apology, forgetting, apparently, that Mr. Blaine himself used it last week in welcoming the British Minister, somewhat to the surprise and much to the pleasure of Englishmen."

Even Granville had more regard for the proprieties than our Anglo-American Secretary of State, for he seemed to think that speaking of the "devoted loyalty" of America to Queen Victoria, is not in good taste, something that did not occur to the man who disgraced the office once honored by Jefferson and Marcy, who, if in Blaine's place, would have forced the English Government to release Boynton within twenty-four hours after he had been arrested. That this could be done, is shown by the time the English Government selects to unbar Boynton's prison doors, on the eve of the assembling of the Chicago Convention, and within four days of the meeting of Congress, Boynton is released. Blaine, as well as the English Government, knew that this country would not permit a defender of the Union to die in prison to gratify the malice of landlordism. Both think the easiest way out of the difficulty is to set Mr. Boynton free. The time selected for his release convicts Blaine of dereliction

of duty. For it proves that he knew that a vigorous demand for the release of Mr. Boynton, backed up, as it would have been by Congress, would have unbarred his prison doors. But if he had made such demand, how then could he boast in the presence of the British Minister of the "devoted loyalty of the Americans to Queen Victoria."

There is, however, another American citizen, Mr. D. Sweeney, lying in Dundalk Jail, who has been arrested as a suspect and thrown into prison without being accorded a trial by jury. No flunkeyism of James G. Blaine must stand between Mr. Sweeney and his immediate release. Congress has a positive duty to perform in this case, and the country looks to it to perform it without any loss of time.

While congratulating Mr. Boynton on his release, we feel under the obligation of thanking him for the noble heroism he displayed during the long months of his illegal imprisonment. The same courage he displayed on the battlefield in defending the flag of the Union, accompanied him into his prison cell; and though at any time he might have obtained his liberty by accepting the Government's terms, rather than do so he preferred facing death, and what was perhaps harder to endure than facing death itself, total blindness. Compare the heroism of this man with the flunkeyism of James G. Blaine, assuring the British Minister of the loyalty of Americans to the English Queen, and then say which has best upheld the honor of the United States.

[From the Irish World, Dec. 24, 1881.]

EXIT BLAINE—"HE WILL NEVER SIT IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR."

Mr. Blaine has stepped down and out from the office of Secretary of State. We are glad that Blaine's Anglo-Americanism will have no longer a chance to display itself in the most important position in the President's Cabinet. His *disgraceful conduct* in the Boynton case stamps him as a man who has no conception of what is due to the dignity of American citizenship. It would have been more to the credit of the United States Government if Blaine had resigned before the arrest and imprisonment, without trial, of American citizens residing in Ireland.

We understand that the ex-Secretary *has still hopes of reaching the object of his life ambition, viz., the Presidency.* We feel as certain as we can be of any future event that ***James G. Blaine of Maine will never sit in the Presidential chair.*** He is not the first whose flunkeyism to England has killed Presidential aspirations. Charles Francis Adams is one of them, and King, who, in the early part of this century, was Minister to England, is another.

There is a rumor to the effect that the President intends offering the mission to England to the ex-Secretary. No doubt the position would be an acceptable one to him, as it would afford him a chance to display his "devoted loyalty to Queen Victoria." But, luckily for the honor of his country, there is no chance of

Blaine's nomination being confirmed if sent to the Senate. He had a chance of making a name for himself by defending the rights of American citizens, which had been trampled upon by the English Government, but the flunkeyism of the man prevented him from grasping the golden opportunity. He now returns into public life with the consciousness that *he has won the good will of the English Government at a price that he will regret having paid.*

This *Irish World* newspaper won the confidence of the adopted Irish citizens by its bold and well-directed denunciations of the enemies of Ireland and her people, *including Blaine and Lowell,* but now we find it seated at the door of the Republican wigwam, acting the part of "the spider to the fly," by singing sweetly of Blaine and his love for the Irish, with the refrain of "walk in, walk in." That this position and song is a great success financially is plain to all who know the fact that thousands and thousands of dollars of Mr. Blaine's money is now being paid out for large editions of the *Irish World,* to scatter them broadcast all over the country, in an effort to fool the Irish citizens into joining the "American Political Alliance" in electing Mr. Blaine. But, my friends, a world of such papers could not do that; and so Mr. Blaine himself will find out when it is too late for him to save his money.

Now, my friends, supposing there is no such person as an adopted citizen in our country, and supposing that we are all one way of thinking in religion, let us ask ourselves even in that case would Mr. Blaine be a good, safe man to elect President of the United States. I answer this question for myself by saying he would not—and why?

Because his whole course while a member of Congress shows him to be completely in the hands of the great railroad monopolies. From first to last he assisted those monopolies by his vote and influence in every wicked scheme they carried through Congress to rob the people out of millions and millions of acres of the public domain.

Because, when Mr. Thurman was fighting in Congress for a law to make the railroads act honestly, which finally did pass and become a law, known now as the "Thurman Act," Mr. Blaine did all in his power to prevent its passage. Mr.

Edmunds, the Republican Senator who so energetically assisted Mr. Thurman in this fight, in speaking of the contest afterwards, made this remark:

"It is my deliberate opinion that Mr. Blaine acts as the attorney of Jay Gould. Whenever Mr. Thurman and I have settled upon legislation to bring the Pacific Railroads to terms of equity with the Government, up has jumped James G. Blaine, musket in hand, from behind the breastworks of Gould's lobby, to fire in our back."

And again, because he joined the California railroad companies in the hue and cry against allowing French citizens to build with their own money the Panama Canal, the construction of which would in a great measure relieve us from the villainous exactions of those railroad corporations that are now his warmest friends and supporters in this State. Out of his connection with the monopolies of the whole Union, he has contrived to become immensely rich. Is it to be supposed that if he is elected President he will turn his back upon them?

Now let us turn to Grover Cleveland and see what are the objections to electing him President of the United States.

The only objection we find made by the Republican press is that, in his position as Governor of the State of New York, he vetoed three certain bills passed by a Republican Legislature. One was known as the "Elevated Railroad veto." This Railroad, it seems, obtained a charter from the Legislature which obliged it to carry passengers at any time between the hours of five and eight in the morning and five and eight in the afternoon, for the whole length of the road, at a five cent fare; and for all other hours of the twenty-four it was permitted to charge a ten cent fare.

This was a discrimination in favor of the laboring population which enabled them to live on the outskirts of the city instead of the crowded, unhealthy locations they had before been compelled to reside in.

The well-to-do, rich classes of the city became discontented because they, too, could not travel at the five cent fare when they went out in the middle of the day to enjoy themselves, so they procured the passage of an Act by the Legislature to put them on a par with the workingmen by

making the fare five cents for all day. Had this bill passed, the Governor found that most likely the railroad company would have to go into bankruptcy; so he vetoed the bill, which, if he had not done, would have compelled the laboring men to have abandoned their outside homes and return to the city.

The next bill he vetoed, complained of, was a bill to prevent drivers of railroad cars from working over ten hours; but the Governor found that those railroad car drivers were paid by the trip, and not by the day, and could substitute a man in their place at any time, and that if he signed the bill it would deprive many of them of the privilege of working over-hours if their family needs demanded it.

The next veto complained of was in relation to the "Mechanics' Lien" law. The simple facts about this are that it was a bungling law, which, if it had been signed, would have made it much worse for the class it was pretended it had intended to serve; so the Governor vetoed it, as he should have done.

Now these are the three great crimes heralded all over the country against Governor Grover Cleveland. Can anything be more absurd than to suppose that the people can be humbugged by such accusations and overlook Mr. Blaine's frightful public record.

Mr. M. F. Tarpey, of Oakland, one of our foremost adopted citizens, who was a delegate to the Democratic Convention in Chicago, in a speech made by him the other day in Oakland, said that while he was East he had visited Buffalo, Albany and New York, and while in those cities had made a thorough investigation of these charges against Governor Cleveland, and became satisfied that they had no foundation in common sense and truth.

The Republicans, besides these absurd charges against Governor Cleveland, attempt to mystify the people on the tariff question, so as to put him in a wrong light in reference to it. This is puerile and childish on their part, for the fact is the plank in relation to tariff in the platforms of both parties does not materially differ. To show this I quote the following:

FROM OUR PLATFORM.

"In making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any *domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth.*"

"From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the Custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they *must continue* to be."

"Many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved."

"*The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.*"—*National Platform of the Democracy.*

Grover Cleveland is, comparatively speaking, a poor man. He never was in any manner connected with those great thieving monopolies that were always "dickering" with Mr. Blaine. He is remarkably popular in the great County of Erie, in which he lives, always carrying it by a large majority when a candidate for office, although it was largely Republican in its general vote. When in office he has always shown himself in a most striking manner a reformer in all that relates to government. This even his enemies admit. He sprang from the ranks of the struggling classes, and his advancement to the highest places of preferment and honor seems a glory to our whole country, because it is the legitimate fruit of our form of government.

But yesterday, as it were, he was a poor, unknown boy, struggling to overcome those difficulties that so often beset the pathway of the young and ambitious. To-day his heart is filled with honest, justifiable pride, for he hears the voice of millions of his countrymen calling him to come forward and take the most exalted temporal position in the world, that of President of this great nation.

His success on election day will fill the breasts of the youth of our country with courage and fortitude, which shall enable them also to achieve great and most honorable results.

Now, my friends, I shall detain you no longer. If any statement I have made here to-day shall seem to any one of you to require confirmation or explanation, I shall be glad to hear from you at my home in Santa Cruz. In all I have said I have but given you the result of my own investigations. I have done this for your consideration, in the hope that they may assist you somewhat in coming to a just conclusion as to how it would be best to vote on the 4th day of next November, while I do not doubt for a moment but that on that day you will exercise your great right of suffrage conscientiously for the common good. That the result of that day's work, whatever it shall be, may prove for the greater honor and glory of our great Republic, I most earnestly pray.

Now, Mr. Chairman, had I been at liberty to accept your polite invitation, such would have been my address to my old friends and associates on every stump from one end of the State to the other.

Yours, with sincere respect,

WM. F. WHITE.

Santa Cruz, August 25th, 1884.

Thomas' Print, 505 Clay St., S. F.